

SKETCH OF THULUNG GRAMMAR
with three texts and a glossary

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FORWARD

This volume of the Cornell East Asia Papers is unique in being an importation from England. Dr. Allen, an anthropologist at the University of Durham, has despite his modest disclaimers, produced a grammar of the Thulung language that would do credit to any professional linguist.

This is also the first in our series so far published that deals with a linguistic subject. It reflects the interest Cornell has in the linguistics of the Asian area. Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan studies are now undergoing a rapid development, and Dr. Allen's book is a significant contribution to the growing literature in this field. Thulung is one of the Rai group of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Eastern Nepal. This study provides an excellent descriptive analysis of a morphologically complex language, and its very complete data will be invaluable also for comparative linguistic research.

Some recent work in related languages should be mentioned: the Summer Institute of Linguistics (of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma) has done a great deal of valuable work on many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Their publications are issued through the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. Some of their work has been done on the Khaling Rai language. As these SIL publications are too recent to have been mentioned by the author, two of the most pertinent are mentioned here:

1. Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba, A Khaling-English English-Khaling Glossary (1975)
In the Introduction to the above, it is stated that a lexicostatistical comparison shows Khaling has 45.7% cognates with Kulung and 34.8% with Thulung.

2. Austin Hale, Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in selected languages of Nepal, Part IV, Word Lists (1973)

Khaling is the only Rai language included in these comparative vocabularies of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. In the Introduction, there appears a sketch of Khaling phonology which includes an analysis of contractive pitch which can be compared with Dr. Allen's statements of pitch phenomenon in Thulung.

It has been a most pleasant task to read Dr. Allen's manuscript and to have helped prepare it for inclusion in our Data Papers.

Nicholas C. Bodman
Professor of Linguistics

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first debt of gratitude is to the numerous Thulung who helped me towards some understanding of their language. For the possibility of carrying out fieldwork I am deeply indebted to Dr. R. Needham, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, the Social Science Research Council and the authorities at Tribhuvan University. For encouragement to persevere with the linguistic work presented here I should also like to thank particularly warmly Dr. A. Hale, Dr. R. K. Sprigg and Professor E. J. A. Henderson. Dr. Sprigg, who has himself carried out some unpublished research on Thulung, made many detailed and valuable criticisms of earlier versions of Chapters II and III. I am grateful also to the editors of this series who suggested a number of substantial improvements, including the addition of texts and a glossary, and to my wife for much laborious work on the latter. Finally I must acknowledge a grant from the University of Durham Research Fund, without which publication would have been greatly delayed, and the careful typing of a difficult manuscript by Mrs. C. Bates.

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A one page Corrigenda
and a fifteen page Supplementary Glossary
follow page 254

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Thulung language as an object of research.

1.1. Name, location, number of speakers.

The name Thulung (less commonly Thulunge or Thulungye) is found in the literature and is also used by its speakers to refer both to the language and to themselves. It is one of the many related languages spoken by the Rai people of East Nepal, and hence may also be called Thulung Rai. The number of other Rai languages is uncertain though there are at least a dozen.

The majority of speakers (virtually all except first generation emigrants) have their homes in nine village panchayats surrounding on all sides the confluence of the Dudh Kosi and the Solu Khola in the southern part of Solu Khumbu Jilla. No published estimate has been made of the number of speakers, but I would very tentatively put the figure at around 8,000. The National Census of 1961 reported just under 240,000 people claiming a Rai language as their mother tongue, but it does not distinguish between different Rai languages.

1.2. Previous research.

The Rai languages, and Thulung in particular, have received little serious study. More than a century ago, Hodgson (2) published a vocabulary of some 200 Thulung words in parallel columns with vocabularies of a number of other Rai languages, and most subsequent references to Thulung go back to this material. Hodgson's unpublished notes (3), made in the presence of his informant,

contain a little additional lexical material and some useful grammatical information. Hunter (4) lists Thulung vocabulary but appears to contain no information not derived from Hodgson; nor does Konow's entry for the language in the LSI (5,pp.368-9), though it does offer some brief analytic comments. The reference to Thulung by Voegelin and Voegelin (6,p.48) is brief and inaccurate.

The only substantial source since 1857 has been a 110 page booklet (1) written in Devanagari by a Thulung who had emigrated to Darjeeling. The author, Agam Sing Rai (henceforth cited as AS), came from Dewsa village, and some of his forms are typical of that dialect. Unfortunately I did not learn from his grandchildren the date when he left the Thulung homeland but it can probably be assumed that he learned the language before the first world war. His book lists alphabetically with single-word Nepali glosses some 930 non-verbal items and 530 verbal ones, plus some 440 phrases using the same vocabulary; it also gives, without formal analysis, 13 verbal paradigms (incomplete, but exemplifying the majority of stem types), declensional tables of certain non-verbals, and some miscellaneous information such as a list of numerals. In spite of its orthography, which ignores some phonemic distinctions and introduces some non-phonemic ones, the work proved highly useful, especially for its information on obsolescent vocabulary.

For one further paper on Thulung see Addendum.

1.21. References.

- (1) RAI, Agam Sing Dewsa, 1944. āśalacchī śikṣā, thulung rāī bhāṣā. Darjeeling. (The title is a memorial to the author's wife).
- (2) HODGSON, B.H., 1857. Comparative vocabulary of Kiranti. J. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26: 333-371.

- (3) HODGSON, B.H., n.d. Hodgson Manuscripts, vol.22 fol. 106-132, and vol.89 fol. 80-142. India Office Library, London.
- (4) HUNTER, W.W., 1868. A comparative Dictionary of the languages of India and high Asia.
- (5) KONOW, S., 1909. Part 1 of Volume III in G.A.Grierson (ed) Linguistic Survey of India. Calcutta.
- (6) VOBGELIN, C.F. and VOBGELIN, F.M., 1965. Languages of the world, Sino-Tibetan fascicle four. Anthropological Linguistics 7 (5): 1-57.

1.3. Relationship to neighbouring languages.

Basing himself on Hodgson's data, Shafer (3) made a number of revisions in the LSI classification of the Himalayan languages and in 1955 classified Thulung in the western branch of the Eastern Himalayan section of the Bodic Division of the Sino-Tibetan family. According to him, this branch consists of (i) the Dumi unit, viz. Dumi itself, Khaling and a language exemplified in the LSI under the name "Rai", and (ii) Thulung's closer relatives, Bahing, Sunwari and Chaurasia. Khaling is spoken to the NNE of the Thulung tract, Dumi to its SE around the Rawa Khola, Bahing to the south around Okhaldhunga, and Chaurasia and Sunwari respectively to the south and west of the Bahing tract. My own impression, on the basis of vocabulary, is that the closest relationship of Thulung is with Bahing, as Shafer had suggested elsewhere (2.p.357); this view accords well with the available ethnographic evidence. However, with the exception of Clark (1.pp.261, 269, 270), neither Shafer nor, I think, any other western scholars have referred to AS, and the question of the inter-relationships of the Rai languages may need reconsideration in the

light of the present sketch and of the researches at present being carried out on neighbouring languages by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. These have particularly concerned Khaling and Kulung Rai and Sunwari; references to the recent publications on these languages may be found in Hargrave and Hale (4).

1.31. References.

- (1) CLARK, T.W., 1969. Nepali and Pahari, pp.249-276 in T. Sebeok (ed) Current trends in linguistics 5. Mouton.
- (2) SHAFER, R., 1953. East Himalayish. Bulletin of SOAS 15: 356-374.
- (3) -----, 1955. Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Word 11: 94-111.
- (4) HARGRAVE, David and HALE, Margrit, 1973. A bibliography of SIL in south Asia, pp.64-87 in Nepal studies in linguistics 1. Kirtipur.

1.4. Sociolinguistic notes.

Thulung is a discrete language which does not shade off into those of neighbouring Rai subtribes; indeed it is felt locally to be separated from the other Rai languages by barriers of mutual unintelligibility. In general Nepali is the lingua franca of the whole country and nowadays at least there are very few individuals (the majority no doubt being women) who are to a significant degree bilingual in Thulung and another Rai language.

The discreteness of Thulung no doubt goes back to the period when the ancestors of the present-day speakers lived in the single village of Mukli. With the foundation of other Thulung villages

(perhaps some two or three centuries ago), a certain amount of intervillage dialectal variation has developed. Moreover villages are large - Mukli now takes up to three hours to cross - and there is little occasion for interaction on a village-wide basis. Thus there is also a certain degree of intra-village variability, and members of one hamlet are sometimes aware of speech habits characteristic of another hamlet of their own village.

The influence of Nepali on Thulung is strong and increasing. One factor affecting its intensity is the proportion of native Nepali speakers living interspersed among the Thulung; this tends to be greater in the west and south of the Thulung tract (e.g. at Tingla) than in the east and north (e.g. at Lekhim). Other things being equal, one may also expect signs of greater Nepali influence among younger speakers, among those who are more educated, and among those who have lived for long periods abroad (particularly in the British or Indian armies).

The present work concentrates on the ordinary Thulung language as spoken in everyday life. The language used in rituals is quite distinct. A preliminary impression of it can be gained from Chapter VI where a sample is presented and briefly discussed. However I hope to examine the ritual language in greater detail elsewhere together with the whole question of the relative position of Nepali and Thulung in Thulung culture.

2. Aims and methods of present research.

2.1. Priorities and limitations.

The main object of fieldwork was to make a social anthropological study of Thulung culture considered in diachronic perspective; this was one contribution to a study of social change in rural Nepal.

a combined project directed by Professor C. von Fūrer-Haimendorf of the School of Oriental and African Studies. All Thulung speak some Nepali and most are fluent in it, so one possibility would have been to work wholly through this lingua franca. However there were strong anthropological arguments against this approach and the availability of AS (there seems to be no equivalent for any other Rai language) made it seem reasonable to attempt to learn the tribal language even in the time available. I was stimulated also by Shafer's remark in 1953: "Thulung is the most archaic of the East Himalayish dialects and a precise and extensive recording of it would be of the greatest value to the comparative grammar of Sino-Tibetan.s" However I unfortunately lack any formal training in linguistics, and this fact, together with the primacy of social anthropological goals, will explain some of the deficiencies in the following account. It was less important to contribute to comparative grammar than to be in a position to understand tape-recorded texts of oral traditions and rituals. Fluency in Thulung was not a very high priority and until the final two or three months all information was collected through Nepali. I was seldom able to follow a conversation between third parties unless it could be played over several times on tape.

This sketch consciously focuses on the Tibeto-Burman aspects of Thulungs even to the point of distortion; Chapter II for instance omite any systematic treatment of the numerous Nepali loan words that would have to be covered by a complete synchronic description of the language. Sporadic comments are made on parallels between Nepali and Thulung in the hope that they may have a bearing on questions about languages in contact, either, that is, about the way in which Nepali is infiltrating the tribal languages, or about

possible substratum influences of the latter on Nepali. But much wider knowledge would be required to tackle these matters with any confidence.

The analytical approach and terminology are more or less traditional and no attempt has been made for instance at rigorous definition of parts of speech. Similarly no attempt has been made to relate Thulung grammar to that of other Rai languages e.g. Bahing as described by Hodgson. First drafts of much of this sketch were prepared while I was among the Thulung and shortly after return. Chapter II was largely modelled on the phonemic summaries then available from the Summer Institute of Linguistics but I have not attempted to reformulate my initial descriptions in the light of the linguistic literature that has subsequently become available.

2.2. Period and location of fieldwork.

I was resident in Solu Khumbu jilla, apart from four three-week breaks, from September 1969 to March 1971, but work on the Thulung language was not begun until January 1970. Most of the period was spent in Mukli village but about a month each were spent in Tingla and Lokhim.

2.3. Informants.

This Sketch is concerned primarily with the dialect spoken in the old part of Mukli village. The main informants were Ganes Rai (G), aged 29, of Derepu hamlet schoolmaster; and Havildar Karabir Rai, aged 55 of Caspu hamlet, 15 years a soldier but a good speaker of Thulung. References to a Tingla informant are usually to Tirtha Raj Rai, aged 26 schoolmaster, from Gairigāũ hamlet, who was my assistant for the first few months. Work with Ganes was on the basis of regular daily two-hour sessions; that with Karabir, my host, was much less systematic.

3. Notation.

3.1. Nepali words.

These place one in a dilemma. From the viewpoint of a Thulung they are part of his language and it would be logical to use for them the same orthography as for the rest of the language. On the other hand Nepali has its own more or less established Devanagari orthography which can be Romanised in various ways and it would be confusing to introduce yet another orthography based on an analysis of Thulung. Since it is unlikely that anyone will need or wish to write Thulung except for scholarly purposes, practical simplicity is not an important consideration relative to analytical convenience. Thus in keeping with the Tibeto-Burman bias noted in 2.1, Nepali words or morphemes are treated as external to the language and are regularly marked usually with a following N, but sometimes, especially when associated with non-underlined Thulung words simply by underlining. Their spelling is as in Turner's Nepali Dictionary, except that retroflex consonants are represented by capitals and the velar nasal is represented by η . The main discrepancies between the two orthographies concern (i) vocoid sequences where the second member may be written as a vowel in Nepali and as a semivowel in Thulung, e.g. biu N "seed", pronounced the same as biw "ask for" 1 S pres. and (ii) Nepalisa and ā, which are often pronounced like Thulung ə and a respectively. However it was no part of our purpose to undertake a phonemic analysis of Nepali.

Occasionally it is debatable whether or not a word should be written as Nepali. (i) In the few instances where borrowings have obviously been modified phonetically they are written as Thulung words, e.g. diukha from dukha N "trouble" or khorsay from khorsāni N "chili". (ii) In mixed words, e.g. where Thulung endings are added

to borrowed verbal roots, the borrowed portion is underlined. (It is partly the convenience of this device that has led to the rather clumsy convention of having two ways to indicate that a word is Nepali). (iii) Occasionally a borrowing has dropped out of present day Nepali as spoken in the area; an example is pusai N "father's sister's husband", which is current in Thulung but has been replaced in Nepali by phupāju N. Words that can be confidently identified as borrowings are generally written as such; where the matter is doubtful they are treated as Thulung.

3.2. Citations from previous authorities or varying dialects.

Lexical items cited from Agam Sing are followed or preceded by the label AS. It has seemed best to transcribe his Thulung words according to our Thulung orthography rather than treat them as if they were Nepali. This involves ignoring some of the distinctions that he makes, e.g. his apparently unpredictable tendency to introduce a space at certain morpheme boundaries, and at the same time it involves introducing certain distinctions that he does not make, e.g. between a and oa. Such changes evidently involve an element of the conjectural, and when it seems relevant to transliterate his actual spelling the result is enclosed in inverted commas. The same device is used to distinguish Hodgson's actual spelling from what I suppose he would have written had he been using the present orthography.

Items recorded elsewhere than in Mukli are associated with the name of the village concerned, e.g. Lokhim, Ranim, Tingla. This does not necessarily imply that they are not current in Mukli.

References to Hodgson's unpublished notes are to volume (underlined) and folio. For Nepali reference is made to:
CLARK, T.W., 1963. Introduction to Nepali. Cambridge.

TURNER, R.L.. 1931 (corrected 1965). A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language. London.

ŠARMA, B.C.. 2019 B.S. Nepālī śabda-koś. Kathmandu.

3.3. Glosses.

Glosses in inverted commas are often oversimplified for the sake of brevity; in such instances fuller information will be found in the Glossary. A single lexical item is not necessarily invariably given an identical gloss when cited on more than one occasion. Nepali glosses are occasionally given when the English is uncertain or clumsy.

Verbs are often given in the infinitive which is recognisable by the Thulung ending -mu. Other forms are glossed with the symbols 1, 2 or 3 referring to person of the subject, and s, sD or Ps referring to singular, dual or plural number of the subject; with transitive verbs when the object is not mentioned it is to be taken as 3rd person and singular. The tense referred to as present (or pres) is actually neutral between present time and future.

3.4. Cross-references.

When a cross-reference lacks a chapter number (written in Roman numerals), the reference is to another division of the same chapter.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

The main purpose of this chapter is to explain and justify the orthography that has been adopted. We shall recognise the following twenty-nine segmental phonemes: p, t, c, T, k, b, d, j, D, g, m, n, ɳ, l, r, s, y, w, ɹ, i, e, a, o, u, iu, eo, ea, oa, ə.

1. Consonants.

1.1. Stops and affricates (obstruents)s

The obstruents are as follows:

	labial	inter-dental	alveolo-	retroflex	velar
	stop	stop	palatal	palatal	stop
			affricate	stop	
voiceless	p	t	c	T	k
voiced	b	d	j	D	g

To treat the affricates as clusters (e.g. as Ts and Dg) would be awkward phonetically since g has no voiced allophone elsewhere, would produce phoneme sequences of unique distribution, and would be unnatural within the cultural area of Devanagari.

Examples of contrast:

pel	"spirit"	bel	"spleen"
tente	" <u>cimsi</u> tree"	denmu	"stretch out"
cermu	"split"	jer	"loan"
kemu	"sting"	gemu	"come up"

Retroflex consonants are treated separately in 1.16.

1.1.1. Aspirated obstruents.

When they open a syllable, all obstruents may be contrastively

aspirateds though it appears that g is so only before liquids.

pēmu	"cool down"	phēmu	"raise"
bēmu	"stand up"	bhoāmu	"boil"
termu	"knock over"	thermu	"lean up against"
dala	"quickly"	dhalu	"down"
cem	"aunt"	chem	"ceremonial enclosure"
jam	"cooked rice"	jham	"be possible" 3 Sspres
ko	"one"	kho	"axe"

1.12. Clusters involving liquids.

Syllable-initial labial and velar stops and their aspirates may form clusters with prenuclear liquids.

pleāmu	"split"	phleommu	"knead"
proāmu	"make bundle"	phrōmu	"undo"
bloāmu	"decorate"	(bhl- has not been found)	
breōmu	"fall"	bhreōmu	"break off"
klēta	"stony place"	khlūmu	"take out"
krōmu	"plant (pole)"	khrenmu	"cover"
gleṅgleṅga	"greasy"	ghlomī	"hen"
grenmu	"fit"	ghroāmu	"jam"

1.13. Variability of aspiration of voiced obstruents.

Aspiration of voiced stops, whether or not before liquids, differs from that of voiceless ones in that in many words it is subject to free or dialectal variation. It is commoner in Dewsa than Mukli.

jōmu "plough", cf. Dewsa jhōmu.

boro "frog", cf. Dewsa bhorō.

brem or bhrem "laziness".

ghloāmu "win" cf. AS gloāmu.

grenem or ghrenem "nettle"

1.14. Obstruents in syllable-final position.

Here homorganic voiced and voiceless obstruents are not in significant contrast. AS is not entirely consistent but we follow his usual practice in writing the voiceless consonant except when p/b, t/d or T/D precede voiced obstruents in the same word. (Velar stops very rarely precede voiced obstruents in the same words; gg, gd and gd probably never occur in Thulung). This convention has the morpho-phonemic disadvantage that we write for instance rebDiu rather than *repDiu "look at" 3 S past where the stem is written rep- (cf. repto 1 S past, repna 2 S past etc.); on the other hand it is more natural phonetically in the long consonants. These occur only word medially and are treated as geminates having a syllable boundary between their two elements. Examples are:

kuppi AS "forehead"

yakke "small"

retto "bring" 1 S past.

reDDiu "bring" 3 S past.

Geminate p has been found only in the form cited and in happa "very" (IV 3.5). Geminate g, eb and eT have not been found. We follow AS in writing the doubled affricate rather than e.g. tc or Dj, in words like ceocceo "children" and bijje "hemp". The letters s, d, c and j are written syllable-finally only in geminates.

Word-final k is rare, especially in monosyllables, where it is confined to the kinship terms loak "younger brother" and kuk "mother's brother".

1.15. Phonetic variation.

Syllable-final stops usually have inaudible release. In these circumstances word-medial p and k are often in idiolectal or

dialectal variations e.g.

bopto AS "Engelhardtia tree" cf. Mukli bokto

kuppi AS "forehead", cf. Mukli kukpi.

In verbs the contrast is maintained at least in correct speech:

khopto "collect" 1 S past, khokto "cook" 1 S past. Syllable-final

T is less liable to this weakening of contrast, though apparently

jhupleakma, jhutleakma and jhukleakma would all be acceptable forms from jhumbleamu "jump down".

When it precedes in the same words p is commonly pronounced as a fricative e.g. in jepser "wheat". Intervocalic b may be very lax and it alternates with w, as in khleba AS "dog" cf. Mukli khlewas bo AS "also" cf. Mukli wo. It is sometimes heard as a fricative; Hodgson (89:99) often writes causatives with "-venmu" rather than with the careful speech pronunciation -benmu.

1.46. Retroflex stops.

Like the other pairs, retroflex stops contrast with each other as voiceless to voiced

Tēra "Saurasia tree" Dēpa "thick".

I was unable to train my ear to recognise the contrast of dental and retroflex word-initially but native Thulung speakers who are literate in Nepali never have any doubt as to which of the two they are using and express the distinction with the names used for the Devanagari symbols e.g. dahile da as opposed to DəṇDune Da.

Syllable-initial T is extremely rare. only three examples having been recorded. For Tēra cited above AS gives tēra, but conversely he gives Tuku "jack-fruit" where Mukli says tuku. The only aspirated instance occurs word-medially in Ratho ma "name of a legendary princess". Syllable-finally T is more frequent. It is found regularly in certain parts of stem verbs (e.g. breTpa from brenmu

"sell"), and in non-verbals it contrasts with st in apparently similar environments:

waTla "lonely" khotle "all"

chiut "bottom of basket" chiT "magical substance"

However here again it is subject to dialectal variation: AS weTme "female guest" corresponds to Tingla betme.

The voiced retroflex is much commoner initially than the voiceless though it is two or three times less common than the dental. Minimal pairs are easily found:

doa "like" 3 S pres Doa "loom"

dōmu "move" Dōmu "swallow"

Cf. lamdimu "walk", ləmDi "go" 3 P past.

Aspirated D occurs only in AS Dhe (v. III 8.1) and AS Dheksa "tree"s cf. Mukli De and Deksa.

Intervocalic D is flapped as in Nepali.

We shall not venture any diachronic comments on the place of the retroflex stops in the phonological system of Thulung, but it is convenient to note here two curious points. (i) As an initial for verb stems, D differs from the other voiced obstruents in having no association with intransitivity (III 2.32). (ii) In nouns the sequence nasal consonants+ d is common, while that of nasal consonant + D is very rare if it occurs at all. In verbs the situation is the reverse: nasal consonants+ D is extremely common, while nasal consonant + d seems to be confined to compound verbs such as lamdimu "walk".

1.17. Fluctuation between dental and retroflex.

Word-initially there is considerable dialectal fluctuation between dental and retroflex. Two examples for the voiceless pair have already been mentioned in 1.16. Mukli has D where AS gives d

in at least the following: Dunma "much", Danmu "call", Dekpa "fallen", Diuliumca "stick" (AS diulumca). The converse is found in de "share" (AS De) and deole "deformed, thieving spirit" (AS Deoli)s A Tingla informant who gave Dela "drum" differed both from AS deola and Mukli dela (? cf. Dhol N; also dende "fine"s? from DaNDa N). Similarly, from the SB of the Thulung tract Dr. Sprigg recorded Del "village" where other sources agree in giving del.

1.2. Continuants and glottal stop.

m is a voiced bilabial nasal

n " " " alveolar "

ŋ " " " velar "

l " " " denti-alveolar lateral

r " " " alveolar vibrant

s " "voiceless alveolar sibilant

y " "voiced high, front unrounded vocoid

w " " " " back rounded "

- (not written word-initially) is a glottal stop

Some examples occur in:

malmu "look for" nanmu "crush" ŋarmu "count"

sam "breath" hun "fly" 3 S pres yaŋ "other"

del "village" der "nail"

liw "bamboo" riw "brother in law"

ew "pour out" l S pres ey "pour out" l incl P pres

yakke "small" wammu "prick"

hanmu "spill" ammu "put to sleep"

ŋ andes have palatal release beforeee andei.

1.21. Distribution in the syllable.

Neither sh nor the glottal stop occur post-vocally in the syllable (the single recorded exception was ra-rai variant form of the more usual rawa "almost"). Otherwise all members of this group may both open and close the syllable. All except ss, sh and the glottal stop can form geminates stretching across a syllable boundary. Aspirates and clusters that include liquids have been treated in 1.11-2. Otherwise the only member of the group to appear in intra-syllabic clusters is is, which is found in certain verbal forms, e.g. emsta "sleep" 3 S past, rapatiu "spread" 3 S past, yalisti "strike" 1 incl P past, sarsjeolliu "urinate" 3 S past (cf. III 4.39). It would be possible here to treat these s as opening an initial cluster in the second syllable. However it never does so word-initially, with one dubious exception: AS gives smibuŋ "Anaphyllis nubigena" (a flower), but this was not accepted by any of my informants and is perhaps a misprint for samsibuŋ. Moreover it seems more convenient morphologically to associate the s with the verb stem, i.e. to regard it as entering into a syllable-final cluster.

Word-final s is very rare, having been recorded in only three instances: mas "mosquito" (Hodgson, not attested elsewhere), meysas AS "ancient" (Mukli meysa)i and cis "father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband". It is interesting to note that in monosyllables is, like k, nowadays only occurs word-finally in a kinship term.

1.22. The semivowels.

Syllable-initially the semivowels contrast with consonants and sometimes alternate with them dialectally e.g. bocceo, AS wecceo "guest". In this situation it would be highly artificial to write them as vowels in order to economise on phonemes. Syllable-finally,

the decision is more difficult especially since Nepali orthography prefers to write the vowels. One reason for preferring the semi-vowels is that vocoid clusters whose second member is not high front or high back are distinctly rare in the language (v. 2.4)s Another is that the language admits long vocoids which stretch across a syllable boundary, as in jāw "peacock". bayya "be" 3 S past conditional (short form of bayawa)s it seems most natural to treat these as geminate semivowels analogous to the geminate consonants of 1.14. A third motive is that this expedient makes it possible for the orthography to avoid diacritical signs in distinguishing between the diphthong in liw "bamboo" and the front rounded vowel in liu "tooth".

Word-initial w shows a certain amount of dialectal fluctuation, sometimes alternating with h (wisi AS "ciuri N tree", cf. Mukli hiusiu; see also the five examples quoted in V 1.34). It may also be worth noting the followings

waŋkresi AS "sandalwood tree". Mukli oŋkraŋi

"wanda" Hodgson "run" (imper)s Mukli onda

wermu AS "toes into mouth"s Mukli yormu.

wodi, odi "guess".

1.23. Fluctuating aspiration.

Variability in the aspiration of voiced obstruents has been noted in 1.13. Word-initial voiceless obstruents very rarely show this variabilitys though there are a few apparent examples: peāmu AS "be sour". cf. Mukli pheāmu; heāmu or kheāmu "hang up". In subsequent syllables aspiration even of voiceless obstruents is less prominent phonetically and is commonly optional or variable between dialects. This applies both in pure Thulung words and in Nepali loan words:

akoti "this much"s cf. AS akothi
 somthimu "escort", cf. AS somtimu
 pati ko "one measure", cf. pāthi N
 ghercin or gherchin "an instant", cf. ghari N "clock", chin N "instant"

Syllable-initial h is rare except at the start of words (nehadda "the day after tomorrow", cf. AS negeDDa or neneDDas is one of the exceptions)s I have occasionally noted the breathiness of a word-initial h affecting the whole quality of the following vowel; Dr. Sprigg observed a similar phenomenon following an aspiratedsh.

1.24. Glottal stop and use of hyphen.

Words not opened by other consonants are opened by the glottal stop. It never opens second or subsequent syllables of single morphemes, and is usually represented in the transcription only by word spacing. In a few contexts it is represented by a hyphen, particularly when it opens a suffix, as in ma-a, the vocative of mam "mother" (v. IV 1.2). Note that the hyphen is also used (a) to indicate verb stems, as in goak- "give" (b) occasionally, to indicate or emphasise that an element is a suffix, as in -ka (c) to couple nouns as explained in IV 1.31.

2. Vowels.

2.1. Contrast.

Thulung has ten vowels

	front	back
close	i iu	u
half close	e eo	o
half open	ea	oa
open	a	

i, e, a, o and u represent approximately the values of the cardinal vowels, the first two being spread, the latter two rounded. ə is central and unrounded. The pronunciation of the digraph vowels is indicated very approximately in the chart and will be considered separately in 2.3.

2.11. Examples of contrast.

sīmu "teach"	siumu "itch"
sēmu "fart"	ciūma "bean"
sāmu "become thin"	seōmu "be defeated"
sēmu "get well"	seāmu "winnow"
sōmu "pay"	soāmu "choke"
sūmu "push through"	
li "tooth"	liu "feel" 3 S pres
le "ancient ornament"	leo "spirit"
la "if"	lea "thrive" 3 S pres
lē "go" 3 S pres	loa "word; hand"
lo "large frog"	
lu "come through" 3 S pres	

2.12. Significance of these contrasts in diachronic perspective.

The contrasts listed in 2.11 could easily be multiplied and there is no doubt that all ten vowels have to be granted phonemic status. In this respect they all stand on one level and this is how they are treated in the present chapter. From other points of view however the vowel system falls into two halves the cardinal or simple vowels on the one hand, and the remainder (digraph vowels and schwa) on the other. The two halves are paired up so that each simple vowel bears a special relationship to one of the others. The

relationships are more clearly seen in verbs than in other parts of speech and it is convenient to defer presentation of the facts until after the structure of the verb has been examined. To anticipate the discussion in V 1, e, s, ea, sa and oa were probably originally allophones of i, e and a respectively, conditioned by a following velar, while eo and iu were allophones of so and su, conditioned by certain combinations of preceding and following consonants. Thus the internal evidence suggests that there was once a period when Thulung had only the five simple vowel phonemes.

2.2. Length.

All vowels can show a contrast between long and short. (This distinction is ignored by AS, who uses the contrast of a and ā in Devanagari to express the articulatory contrast of a and a/oa in Thulung).

2.21. Examples of length contrast.

Contrasting items cited in 2.11 are not repeated here.

simu	"die"	liumu	"feel"
semu	"saw"	liūmu	"add"
camu	"burn"	ciusiu	"grandchild"
cāmu	"put on top"	ciūaiu	"strawberry"
phemu	"quarrel"	seomu	"say"
phēmu	"raise"	seakiu	"winnow" 3 S pres
romu	"come"	seāku	"winnow" 1 excl P pres
rōmu	"snatch"	goaki	"give" 1 incl P pres
bumu	"stay"	goāku	"give" 1 excl P pres
būmu	"pile up"		
khuruk	"handmill"		
khūsem	"white hairs"		

2.22. Problems in determining length.

Length contrasts are very clearly and regularly maintained in verbs, from which many of the above examples were drawn. In other contexts however it was often difficult to reach definite conclusions as to length of vowel. In certain non-verbal forms long and short vowels appear to be in free variation, e.g. tophrim or tōphrim "basket"s and in open monosyllables (verbal or not) the problem remained unsolved. It seems certain that some open monosyllables maintain length contrasts: yō "salt" versus yō "ritual prohibition", riu "sin; handle" versus riū "locust". The matter is complicated by phenomena of tone and stress and I was not able to classify more than a few open monosyllables according to length. Despairing of attaining consistency I have generally omitted the length marker in such words except where it serves to distinguish between members of pairs otherwise written identically.

2.23. Rearticulated vocoids.

Distinctions are probably maintained between simple long vowels and unisyllabic sequences of identical vocoids having separate peaks of loudness. biy "ask for" 1 incl P pres (from bimu) is in careful speech distinct from the first syllable of bīmu "importune", and when as often the glottal stop is omitted from ma-a "mother" (vocative), it seems legitimate to write maa, in contradistinction to mā "grain". The point needs further investigations it may be that successive vocoid elements are associated with minor differences in articulatory position in the first instances or with pitch differences in the second.

2.24. Long vowels in closed syllables.

Long vowels are found characteristically in word-initial open syllables. The only long vowels identified in closed syllables were e and eo and these occurred only in a small number of verb forms (cf. III 4.4).

cheTna "rinse" 2 S past chēTna "recognise 2 S past

seoDDiu "bring down" 3 S past seōDDa "lose" 3 S past

This remains a curious anomaly in the phonemic system.

It might be argued that long vowels in closed syllables also arose from m being suffixed to forms such as piy "we eat". However it seemed more natural to write such a form as piyim (example in III 1.3).

2.3. The digraph vowels.

2.31. ea and oa.

ea and oa are rising diphthongs i.e. they have the length and stress on the second element. Both are opening glides, having their first elements around mid level and somewhat centralised. The second element of ea lies in the front lower area; the whole sound is written by AS as "yā" (or occasionally including word-initially as "e"). The second element of oa lies in the low back area; the sound is not distinguished by AS from the single phone a. A slight degree of rounding contributes to making oa a more suitable symbol than ea.

The prominence of the first element varies between villages and with position in the words being greatest in the west of the Thulung tract and in open monosyllables. In Tingla one informant transcribed into English script the Thulung word for pig rendering it as "bowa", cf. my boa and AS "bā". In fast speech the initial element may be scarcely perceptible.

A major objection against writing these two phonemes as ya and wa respectively is that yāmu "strike" and wāmu "be lit" have to be distinguished from eāmu "tear" and oāmu "distract". Following sy a has a fronted raised allophone, and following w it has a backed one; thus the phonetic difference between the pairs lies mainly or entirely in the glottal stop opening the latter. Since by the convention of 1.24, the glottal stop always precedes vowels, the chosen spelling is appropriate on these grounds too. A further advantage in writing ea rather than ya is that it avoids the necessity to spell yeāmu "shake" with an initial yy. In the infinitive this form was given as in free variation with yāmu "strike" but in the 3 S past yeaṇDiu "shook" contrasts both with yaktiu "struck" and with eaktiu "tore".

In non-initial syllables the glottal stop is not present as a guide and the phonetic similarity (probably overlap) of ya and ea raises a potential problem of orthography, e.g. whether to write grinṅrinya "welling up" or grinṅrinea; the former is preferred as conforming better both with the reduplicate morphology and with the spelling pronunciation. In similar contexts wa is preferred to oa on the same grounds, unless there are strong counter-arguments. An example of the latter would be in the word bhusiumpoa "variety of caterpillar", where to write -mpw- would be to introduce a triple consonant sequence of a type of which there seem to be no other examples.

2.52. iu and eo.

This pair are only occasionally heard as diphthongs and are ordinarily single phones. They differ from si and se more by rounding than by tongue position, though this is perhaps more centralised. We shall refer to them as the front rounded vowels. AS writes them as

yu and yo respectively, and other Thulung asked to write their language in Devanagari or Roman did eimilarly. Sometimes we wae preferred to yo; for Hodgson'e various spellings of this phoneme cf. IV 6.2. The spellings withsy might be justified on the grounds that followingsy,su andso have rounded centralised allophones, so that what we have treated as the front rounded vowels might with economy of phonemes be described instead as variants of the strings yu and yo which in certain positions would be particularly fronted and usually coalescent. The front rounded vowels differ from all other vowels in never appearing word-initially following a glottal stop, i.e. in the first syllables of words iu andsyu are in complementary distribution. However there are strong objections to the spelling withsy, chiefly that iu and eo behave like other vowels, alternating with them and contrasting with them, and do not behave like strings of consonant and vowel. On the other hand they might well be written with umlauts (as was done in hand-written field notes). It is true that phonetically they are occasionally heard as diphthongs and that in some contexts they may have arisen from the coalescence of clusters (V 1.24), but the main reason for choice of a digraph symbol was typographical convenience.

2.4. Distribution in the syllable.

Vowels fill the nuclear slots of all syllables. According to the present analysis they never open syllables since this is done by the glottal stop if by no other consonant. Vowel sequences are highly restricted. The digraph vowels are regarded as "close knit nuclei", i.e. as single phonemes, and not as vowel sequences. The possibility of the nuclear vowel being repeated in the post-nuclear position has been mentioned in 2.23. High back and front vocoids

following the vowel have been interpreted as semivowels, and the only other common type of vocoid sequence is that formed with iu as second member. These occur regularly in the inflection of V stem verbs, e.g. brew, breiu, brey "buy" 1 S, 3 Ssand 1 incl P pres. In this situation w, iu and ay follow any vowel except ea and oa. Here one might well regard iu as a semivowel but it must be noted that it never occurs syllable-initially followed by a vowel as w and ay do; nor does yu do so.

2.41. Vowel clusters.

Clusters with the vowels so and se as second members are occasionally found but only as fast speech variants in regular contractions and in adaptations from Nepali.

ethao "even more still" cf. slow speech etha wo

leo "even if", contracted from la wo

wae "silent", fast speech variant of waye

lāemu "apply" from lāunu N

cāedium "is needed", cf. cāhinu N (in which the h is not in fact pronounced). Apart from the three clusters exemplified (ao, so, and se), no other vowel sequences have been found with mid or low vowels as second member.

2.5. Nasalization.

Vowels following a nasal consonant are automatically nasalized, and one nasalized vowel automatically causes nasalization of contiguous vocoidals. Nasalization not conditioned by a preceding nasal consonant is relatively uncommon and, when it occurs is often due to elision in fast speech of the nasal consonant that would condition it in spelling pronunciation. Examples:

koã for koŋa "only" (contrasting with koa "earth")

heã for heŋa "why" (het+ ŋa)

basiã for basiŋa "previously" (basi + ŋa)

anowã for anoŋa "hither" (ano + ŋa)

thã for thama "later" (contrasting with tha "knowledge" from thãhã N)

uniã for unima "theirs"

In such cases the full form rather than the nasalized fast speech variant is usually preferred in the orthography. However there is a small number of Thulung words where this expedient is impossible as the longer conditionally nasalized form does not exist in the dialect of the speaker who uses the short form, though it often does elsewhere. The following list comprises all the instances that have been recorded.

leãsi "banana" (the only common instance); cf. leŋaksi AS

chẽwa AS "wasp"† cf. Mukli cheoneowa

"chãrã" AS "goat"† cf. Mukli choãrat Nachiring Rai changara (Hodgson)† and cyãŋro N.

bẽwaci Ranim "brinjal", cf. Mukli beaŋwaci

le-ã† leã† (? for let+ ŋa) particle following pheri N "again" (IV 2.24)

jãwwa "peacock"

"sãca" AS "I don't know"† cf. Mukli soãca

geỹsa Hodgson "sit" (imper)† cf. present day genDa

pẽysi cf. paỹũ N "tree"

bãysi "spindle"† cf. Lokhim baysi

It will be noted that unconditioned nasalization tends to be borne by low and front vowels, high and back ones being apparently immune.

(The page number 28 has been inadvertently omitted.)

As noted on page 27,
page number 28 was inadvertently omitted.

3. The syllable.

3.1. Contrasting types.

The syllable consists of at least a nuclear vowel V and a pre-nuclear element Ci. The latter may consist only of a single consonant (including in this term the glottal stop and fricative) or of an aspirated consonant, or of a cluster of one or other of these followed by a liquid. Any of these types of prenuclear element may occur with or without a post-nuclear final consonant Cf, so we may distinguish the eight contrastive syllable types which are exemplified below. In this summary we ignore two syllable types of very restricted distribution in the languages (i) that in which Cf is followed by ss (v. 1.21), (ii) that in which two vowels succeed each other in one syllable (v. 2.23 & 2.41).

CiV	e	"is"	CiVCf	nem	"house"
	po	"chicken"		goal	"sweat"
	je	"speak" 3 S pres		hun	"fly" 3 S pres
	bimu	"come across"		genmu	"sit"
CiHV	kho	"axe"	CiHVCf	khel	"leg"
	thī	"price"		phom	"vomit"
	thi	"be cooked" 3 S pres		cheom	"dance" 3 S pres
	phōmu	"raise"		phanmu	"exchange"
CiLV	broa	"cliff"	CiLVCf	plan	"bedding"
	kre	"basket"		brel	"seed"
	bremu	"buy"		brenmu	"sell"
CiHLV	khli	"faeces"	CiHLVCf	bhrem	"idleness"
	khre	"cause havoc" 3 S pres		khram	"weep" 3 S pres
	phrōmu	"loosen"		phleommu	"knead"

3.2. Variation.

3.21. Prenuclear element and nucleus.

Where Ci is a semivowel, only the following sequences occur:

yi, ye, yes, ya, ye, yo, yu; wa, we, wo, wi and we were recorded only in two words written by AS (cited in 1.22).

The following sequences have not been found (for discussion see V 1): peo, keo, geo, neo, heo, tea, mea, nea. nu and niu occur only in verb endings and are never word-initial. eo never follows the glottal stop, and iu does so only in kuT-iu, variant of kuTyu "down to the water".

In types CiHV and CiHVCf, Ci may be filled by any obstruent exceptsT and g, but aspiration is associated with voiced consonants much less often than with voiceless ones, and when it is so it is often variable. g is obligatorily aspirated only in clusters with liquids and in loan words. Any aspirated voiceless initial consonant may precede any vowel, except that the sequences chu, khui and kheo have not been found.

In syllable-initial clusters involving liquids, Ci (aspirated or not) may be p, b, sk or g and L may be either liquid except that bhl has not been found. There appear to be no significant constraints on the combination of such initial clusters with nuclear vowel. Of the possible combinations of the ten vowels with the twelve clusters (if we conflate the aspirated with the unaspirated voiced Ci), some 75% have been found but the gaps fall into no clear pattern.

3.22. Post-nuclear consonant and nucleus.

Cf may be p, t, sT, k, m, a, sn, l, r, s, y or w. The orthography sometimes writes sb, sd, sD, sc, j in the Cf slot, but sb could be replaced by sp and the others by st or sT without any blurring of phonemic contrasts (cf. 1.14). Any V may precede any Cf in the list except that

iuk, eal, ear, eawt eay, oay have not been found. But a number of the sequences that are found can be regarded as exceptionals a point we return to in V 1.1.

3.3. Distribution.

Words consist of from one to five syllables though the only instances of the latter appear to be certain inflections of compound verbs and four-syllable nouns with suffixes. Apart from words compounded from other words or formed by reduplications the longer syllable types are characteristically confined to the first syllable. It is this syllable (with the same qualifications) which also contains the great majority of instances of long vowels and of the vowels ea and oa; some Cf fillers are rarely or never found elsewhere, in particular k, t, T, s, w.

In the light of the possibilities for Cf and for syllable-initial clusters and of the requirement that new syllables always open with a consonant, there is very seldom any problem in deciding from the orthography where the syllable boundary comes. Ambiguity arises only in the sequence VCLV, where C is k or sp. It is uncertain whether there are phonetic features that would allow one to distinguish V.CLV from VC.LV in words like boprom "bell", bopla "tadpole". Since by convention a syllable-final stop is written as unvoiced before liquids (1.14)s a voiced stop in this context is to be taken as syllable-initial; it is written as such when there is morphological incentive, as in moāblam "name of bush"s cf. blam "leaf", or neobli "arrow head"s cf. Tingla ble with same meaning.

4. Tone.

It was only after some six months' work on the language that the writer became convinced of the existence of tonal distinctions in Thulung. In view of the general orientation of the research it was felt unjustifiable to devote a great deal of time or energy to the problem in the course of fieldwork, in spite of its theoretical interest. The notes that follow are almost entirely based on comparisons between words taken in isolation, rather than framed within larger utterances, and the whole section is to be regarded as tentative. For this reason, outside the present section tone is seldom marked in the orthography.

4.1. Nature of tonal contrasts.

A number of pairs of words can be found whose members are pronounced identically at segmental level but differ suprasegmentally. The most obvious difference was that in each such pair one member was pronounced faster and in a more fortis manner. We shall describe it as having tense tone, and symbolise the fact by an apostrophe (') preceding the word. The other member will be said to have lax tone and will remain unmarked. Associated with the tense-lax distinction there were probably differences in pitch but these were not elucidated.

The great majority of Thulung words are not members of such minimal pairs and sounded equally natural to the primary informant G, whether pronounced tense or lax; they may be described as neutral in tone. Apparently the only feature distinguishing a lax word from a neutral one is that the former is unacceptable if pronounced tense. When G expressed a preference for one tone in words which were not members of minimal pairs for tone, his preferences proved inconsistent

on retesting at intervals of several weeks in something like half the cases, whereas in distinguishing minimal pairs he was always consistent. Thus saw "blacksmith" and 'saw "tiger" were clearly distinguished, but ṇaw "important man" and yaw "season" were acceptable either tense or lax, in spite of occasional expressions of preference for one or other tone. It would not be true to say however that tone was never consistently observed outside minimal pairs: 'baw "elder son", 'der "nail", 'mer "tail" were consistently tense, while cer "cock's comb" was consistently lax.

4.2. Examples.

4.21. In verbs.

Wherever the forms for past and present tense are identical at segmental level the past is distinguished by tense tone. Such pairs appear in the 2 S and 2 P of verbs with stems insk, m, n, l, r, in the 3 S of stems insm, sn, p, and in the duals with the ending ci attached to stems in m, n, l, r. There is thus an indefinitely large number of them. Examples:

ciumDiu "catch" 3 S pres or past
theonDiu "give to drink" 3 S pres or past
kribDiu "cut" 3 S pres or past
lṣni "go" 2 P pres or past
ghreomna "meet" 2 S pres or past
khōna "cook" 2 S pres or past
yalci "strike" 1, 2 or 3 D pres or past.

The informant tended to be more positive about obligatory tenseness than about obligatory laxity: past tense members of minimal pairs could never be lax, whereas present tense members might perhaps for emphasis or in certain contexts be tense.

4.22. Examples involving non-verbals.

A relatively small number of minimal pairs arise between verbs and non-verbals or between pairs of non-verbals:

'le	"leech"	le	"go" 3 S pres
'su	"three"	su	"hornet"
'ser	"bone"	ser	"louse"
'seor	"bee"	seor	"solid particles in a fluid"
'jal	"mouse"	jal	"be warm" 3 S pres
'balam	"shoulder blade"	balam	"wooden hammer"
'waye	"low country"	waye	"silent"
'lōku	"Leech Water(place name)"	lōku	"go" 1 excl P pres
'plōriu	"become bitter" 3 S past	plōriu	"make bitter" 3 S pres
'liūra	"feel" 3 S past	liūra	"add" (imper)
'ruku	"divinatory faculty"	ruku	"forest fire"
'sem	"fart"	sem	"hair"
'khrem	"cover"	khrem	"complement of a pair"
'halam	"upper"	halam	"times occasion"
'siuṅkhra	"ritual containers"	siuṅkhra	"mortar"
'mur	"smell"	mur	"itchy black particles"

A number of these contrasts (as well as the systematic one in verbs) were checked with the second main informants and the last four examples in the list are from his information only, one or other word being unknown to G.

4.3. Tone and length.

When the first instances of tonal contrasts came to light among the non-verbal monosyllables, an attempt was made to explain them in terms of vowel length. This might account adequately for the open monosyllables, but in the closed ones the difference in length is phonetically small, markedly less than in the examples cited in 2.21.

Lax vowels appear to be of ordinary length, tense ones appear hurried. In the verbs and dissyllabic non-verbals a solution in terms of length becomes even more problematic. bālam "whence" is quite distinct from either 'balam or balam. If the tense form were analysed as a third degree in a length system, it would be necessary to recognise yet a fourth degree to take account of the long vowels in tense verbal forms.

4.4. Variability of the data.

The checking of tonal contrasts in non-verbals was complicated by the fact that many of the words involved were rare and either not current elsewhere or used in different dialectal forms. Thus with Tingla informantss attempts to confirm the existence of contrasts either in verbs or non-verbals were unsuccessful (though they were not systematic)s There were also idiolectal differences and some words regarded by G as neutral were given very definite tone by the second informant, a man twenty-five years his senior, e.g. 'nem "day" versus nem "house", 'eeor "prosperity", a third meaning.

The variability of the data might be thought to cast grave doubt on its validitys and certainly further research is needed. But as the next subsection suggests, there may be a certain logic in the findings even as they stand.

4.5. Origin of tonal contrasts.

We shall argue in V 3 that the tense tone that distinguishes the past tense of the verbal forms specified in 4.21 arose historically as compensation for the loss of segmental phonemes in those forms. The same appears to be true of those tense non-verbals for which etymologies can be suggested. Thus for 'lēku "Leech Water" (place name) cf. lenaku "ritual name for the same place" and Tingla

le-e "leech". For 'ser "bone" cf. Hodgson sasar and Dewsa (obsolescent) seser. For 'waye "low country" cf. walmu "heat, walku "hot water" and ye "area". For 'baw "elder son" cf. bābu N. Conversely the lax saw is probably a Nepali word, obsolete in the area in that language. Nepali homonyms appear in fact to be regularly lax: ser N "measure of weight" is indistinguishable from ser "louse"s and kosi (as in Dudh Kosi "name of river") is lax relative to 'kosi "walnut".

If it is true that tense tone is a compensation for certain contractions, one possibility is that this has been a long-standing feature of Thulung and the languages from which it descends. But from a practical point of view at least, tonal contrasts play a curiously marginal role in the language. When speaking Thulung I made no attempt to pronounce tones and must have made numerous errors in this respect, but they were never corrected by listeners. Similarly my difficulties in hearing tonal contrasts never led to misunderstandings in conversation nor to ambiguities in the interpretation of tapes. Moreover at the period when the distinction between the tenses was maintained at the segmental level, there would have been no apparent role for the tonal contrasts within the verb, so the overall functional significance of the phenomenon would presumably have been even smaller than at present. It seems more natural then to assume that tenseness first gained phonemic status in the contraction of verbs and was subsequently utilised in a certain number of contracted non-verbals. There is perhaps a parallel here with the digraph vowels which may also have gained their phonemic status within the verbs before being utilised elsewhere (V 1).

Whatever the early history of Thulung tone, one might interpret the variability in the findings as suggesting that with the spread of

Nepali the phenomenon is now disappearing in the speech of the younger generation and in the more acculturated villages.

5. Notes on word stress.

Only some miscellaneous observations can be offered.

Syllabic stress probably never has phonemic status in isolation from length. Most words have, if anything only a weak stress on the first syllable. In the following three groups of exceptions the stressed syllable is often long drawn out and of higher pitch. It is indicated with an acute accent.

5.1. Certain reduplicates.

grĩṅgrĩṅya "welling up copiously"

om-ómya "yellowish"

toaptoápwa "each to his own"

kokó dep "here and there"

hahám huhúm "a few scraps"

5.2. Some expressions of quantity and direction.

katikolon "just a little" (ali ali N) contrasts with katikolon "some, a bit" (alikasi N).

aketí kelpa "as small as this" (yeti sāno N) contrasts with akoti kolpa "of such and such a size" (yetro N). Here the stress and pitch phenomenon is accompanied by an uncommon change in quality of the neighbouring vowels. cf. IV 2.34 and V 1.34).

halá hatla "up there"

5.3. Vocatives.

wa-á "elder sibling" (vocative of wa)

dewá nokchó "priest" (vocative of dewa nokcho)

5.4. recha

The borrowed verbal auxiliary rahecha N is very common in Thulung in the form rechá. Its first syllable is often extremely brief.

CHAPTER III

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND VERB

These parts of speech are conveniently treated in a single chapter because there are close relationships between the ways in which they both vary with person and number (neither being affected by gender). It is because of these relationships that the language family to which Thulung belongs has been called pronominalised.

1. Personal pronouns and their categories.

1.1. List of forms.

	1st person		2nd person	3rd person
	incl	excl		
singular	go		gana	gu
dual	guci	guku (AS goku)	gaci	guci
plural	guy	gucuku (AS gocuku)	gani	gumi

1.1.1. Third person forms.

The third person pronouns listed in 1.1 are obsolescent and the following demonstratives are more commonly met with:

	"thist this one"	"that. that one"
sing	oram (AS aram)	meo. meoram (AS me. meram)
dual	orcip (AS aci)	meocit meorcip (AS meci)
plur	ormim (AS amin)	meomi. meormim (AS memi)

Less common are forms with the base hunum (AS hanom) "that over there". For the apparently intrusivetr cf. korthéo "in one direction" from ko "one" and -theo "towards".

1.2. Plural of second person for politeness.

Among younger people and in those villages where the influence of Nepali is greatest (e.g. more markedly in Mukli than in Lokhim)s there is a tendency to use the plural of the second person as the polite form of address and to regard the singular as discourteous. This is no doubt in imitation of Nepali (and in conformity with the widespread trend in Indo-European languages)s AS (p.19) still translates the highly polite tapāi N as gana.

1.3. First person plural inclusive in sense of English "one".

Examples:

mi piyim seo goaksaDDami

not we-eats+ m meat they-gave-us

"They have given us an inedible kind of meat"

khlewaka khresa?

"does the dog bite?"

Dokpunuṇ birodh biyla hāni dium dium

big-man + with enmity we-makes+ if trouble occurs occurs

"If you make enemies with important people you're in for trouble all right"

choāra ceksi belāka

goats we-shut-in times+ ka

"At the time for shutting up the goats"s i.e. "towards evening".

1.4. Stability of categories of number and inclusivity.

In spite of the marked influence of Nepali on so many aspects of the language, I found no evidence of decline in the use of the dual. The only possible exception is the common question:

iimam-pap bumi? "Are your parents alive?"

The dual here would be incorrect. Conceivably this is an instance of

the polite plural (1.2), though other explanations are possible.

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive is also regularly maintained and my errors on this score were always corrected. It is curious that AS entirely omits the inclusive forms both of pronouns and verbs, though they appear in Hodgson.

1.5. One's self.

The morpheme used in such expressions (AS "tāb") is somewhat variable, as the following examples show. Their structure will be clearer on comparison with IV 2.1 (possessive adjectives) and IV 5.1 (ṇa).

bihān toāku (or tākus toakku, takku) nebDa kām bomi

"the next day they work at their own homes"

atakṇa phiru "I'll sew it myself"

utakṇa bu "He lives by himself"

utoakkā (for -kaṇa) seDDiu "He committed suicide"

uni toaptoapwa (for -ṇa) boap bepa diummiri

their own household make+pa they-became

"They all went and settled down in their separate households"

tataseom "each to his own place" (āphu āphunge N)

2. Transitive and intransitive verbs.

2.1. Transitivity and ergative terminology.

The subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive one are unmarked by any suffix, and will be said to be in the Affected case (Aff). The subject of a transitive verb is generally marked by the suffix -ka, and will be said to be in the ergative or Causer case (Ce). The topic is discussed further in 9, but is introduced now because the terminology is used in describing the

morphology of the transitive verbs. To recognise the structure of the sentence will also make it easier for the reader to interpret some of the examples cited.

2.2. Transitive and intransitive contrasting in endings.

Though problems arise in a few cases there is generally no difficulty in segmenting a Thulung verb into stem and ending. Verbs used in intransitive constructions typically take different endings from those used in transitive ones, at least in the first and third person singular.

Verbs are typically used only in one or other sort of construction, and hence only take one or other sort of ending. Only about a dozen verbs were recorded which could take both sorts of ending, and as some of them were rare the data may reflect informants' doubts. However there are a few well attested examples of verbs which are used both in transitive and intransitive constructions:

hut- "fly" (intrans) or as in "to fly somebody"; bante damna "where did you get lost?", but also kalam N bante damna (or Damna) "where did you lose the pen?" There are also about the same number of verbs (or perhaps somewhat more) which take transitive endings although the constructions in which they are used are not overtly transitive, e.g. gulliu "it has clouded over" § loDDiu "it has boiled" § i nakhli capsu "your nose is running" (literally "your snot is leaking"). The converse is definitely much rarer. The only well attested example is with roak- "say" § as in guka u nayme roakta "he to his wife said" § where the verb ending is intransitive but the use of ka shows that the construction is transitive.

2.3. Transitive and intransitive contrasting in initial element.

Stems are typically monosyllabic, and hence consist of prenuclear elements vowel and (where present) stem consonant. As has been noted in other Tibeto-Burman languages pairs of verbs occur in which the meanings are closely related but the intransitive stem opens with a voiced obstruent the transitive one with a voiceless one.

2.31. Examples.

The following list contains all the instances where the relationship between the two members appears to be definite. In some of the pairs there are additional differences between the two stems apart from the initial consonants but they are unlikely to affect the validity of the comparisons.

intransitive		transitive	
bek-	"stand up"	phək-	"raise"
bi-	"burst"	pi-	"shatter"
bik-	"come across"	phit-	"bring across"
bleak-	"lose sharpness"	pleak-	"make blunt"
brōsimu	"become loose"	phro(t)-	"loosen"
blam-	"be spoiled"	phlam-	"spoil"
jhar-	"fall"	car-	"fell"
jeor-	"ooze out"	ceor-	"filter"
jhaps-	"be possible"	caps-	"be able"
jo(η)-	"lie across"	co(η)-	"put horizontally"
jeks-	"break"	cəks-	"break"
geas/(t)-	"open" (of crack)	keak-	"crack"
get-	"come up"	khet-	"carry up"
ges-	"be born"	keks-	"give birth to"
ghroat-	"be jammed"	kroak-	"cram"

2.32. Quantitative exploration of anomalies.

There are certain curious features of the above lists namely that no clear examples have been found beginning with dentals and that only a proportion of the transitive verb stems are aspirated (none of them being in ch-)^a Regarded quantitatively however, the absence of contrasting pairs in dentals may be insignificant, since the total number of stems beginning with dentals is relatively small. Moreover the percentage of intransitives is relatively high in stems beginning with d, and relatively low in stems beginning with t or th, and the difference is of the same order as with the other obstruents. In the following figures the percentage is of intransitives relative to the total number of stems, the latter being given in brackets. Stems where a liquid follows the initial obstruent are not separated from others beginning with that obstruent.

g	49%(35)	j	70%(27)	d	42%(19)	b	35%(52)
k	7%(46)	c	6%(32)	t	9%(11)	p	15%(31)
kh	8%(48)	ch	28%(21)	th	10%(30)	ph	18%(42)

The exact figures are subject to a number of doubts and ambiguities, and the smaller the numbers the greater the effect of marginal cases. Nevertheless the general trend seems clear. 45% of the 133 stems starting with voiced obstruents (excluding D) are intransitive, whereas among the 263 stems starting with voiceless obstruents only 12% are intransitive. There is no appreciable difference between the percentages for aspirated and unaspirated voiceless obstruents, especially if we exclude ch-, with its relative excess of intransitives.

The list of pairs thus underestimates the quantitative importance of the association between voicing and transitivity. No doubt in some instances only one member of the contrasting pair has survived, while in others the meanings have drifted apart so that the

relationship cannot be confidently recognised in my data. Examples of such doubtful cases are gam- "be tight" versus kham- "embrace"s broamsimu "separate" versus the verb in biurium phroat- "perform naming ceremony for child"s where biurium literally means "umbilical cord". The relationship can sometimes be suspected also in non-verbals, cf. jiujiu "sharp" versus ciu "thorn".

Associations with transitivity are not clearly detectable in verbs beginning with non-obstruents. The percentages of intransitives are ranged around the total for the language as a whole (23% of 649). The figures are: glottal stop 35% (26)s nasals 29% (28)s ə 27% (45)s semivowels 27% (26)s h 21% (39)s liquids 16% (64)s retroflex 14% (14).

2.53. Contemporary blurring of the contrast.

In the contemporary language the relationship between voiced initial and intransitivity seems no longer to be felt, at least by most speakers. Thus ghreom- and kreom- both mean "meet", and one would predict that the former would only be used intransitively (as indeed it sometimes is, e.g. in miuciunun ghreommu "to meet a man"); however it is also sometimes used with a direct object, like Nepali bheTnu, as in miuciu(lāi N) ghreommu. ghrimmu and khrimmu both mean "close up" (of wound) but informants differed on their usage. Nowadays the contrast of transitive and intransitive is more usually made by compounding (5.13)s and occasionally by means of the stem consonant (V 2.3)s both of which processes are also exemplified in some of the examples in 2.51.

3. Verb endings.

3.1. Indicative of intransitive verbs.

With intransitive verbs the endings vary only with the person and number of the subject (the Aff), so the picture is much simpler than with transitive verbs where the categories of Cs are also relevant. The choice of jar- for Table I was motivated partly by the relatively straightforward stem-ending interaction that occurs when the stem consonant is a liquid.

TABLE I

	1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
	incl	excl				
sing	jarŋu	ŋU	jarna	NA	jar	Z
	jarŋuro	ŋUTO	jarna	NATO	jarra	DA
dual	jarci CI	jarcuku CI	jarci	CI	jarci	CI
	jarci CITO	jarcoko CITO	jarci	CITO	jarci	CITO
plur	jari I	jarku KU	jarni	NA	jarmi	MI
	jarri DA	jartoko TO	jarni	NATO	jarmiri	MITO

Indicative endings of the intransitive verb jar- "fall". For each person and number the past tense form is given immediately below the present tense one. After each form is given in capitals the label we shall use for the ending class to which the ending for that number and person of intransitive verbs is allotted. Thus Z is the label for the zero ending of the 3 S pres intrans. Intervocalic D and rs are in free variation in past tense endings and we shall consistently write the latter.

3.11. Ending classes.

Some of the labels used in Table I will appear arbitrary, but their precise form is of little importance for their purpose. Thulung verb endings might be classed in various ways, e.g. by phonemic form or by grammatical function, but in order to give economical expression to the juncture rules for combining stem and ending (which is attempted in Table IV), neither of these is very helpful; insteads we have grouped endings into the smallest convenient number of classes showing distinct junctural behaviour. The purpose of the labels therefore is to act as brief and suggestive formulae for these classes. Not surprisingly, the junctural behaviour of an ending depends mainly on its first particle, and more particularly on its first phonemes, whether consonant or vowel. Thus we can, as it turns out, group together present tense na and ni in a single ending class, arbitrarily allotting it the label NA rather than NI. On the other hand to predict junctural behaviour it may be insufficient to take account only of the ending, and in fact it is necessary to distinguish present tense na and ni from past tense na and nig; the choice of TO for this purpose will be clarified in V.3, where we suggest that there once existed a past tense morpheme *to.

3.2. Indicative endings of transitive verbs.

These are shown in Table II. Endings whose first particle is identical in form and similar in function (that is, same tenses, same person and number of Aff) in transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. mi in 3 P pres, belong in the ending classes indicated in Table I. Other endings will be allotted to ending classes in the course of the analysis.

person of Aff Cs	1st person					2nd person			3rd person		
	sing	incl dual	incl plur	excl dual	excl plur	sing	dual	plur	sing	dual	plur
						ni	nici.	ni.	u	uci	umi
sing						ni	nici.	ni	to	toci	tomi
incl									ci	ci	ci
dual									ci.	ci.	ci.
incl 1st plur									i	i(ci)	i(mi)
									li	li(ci)	li(mi)
excl						naci	naci	nicimi	cuku	cuku	cuku
dual						naci	naci	nicimi	coko	coko	coko
excl						nami	nacimi	nimi	iku	ku	ku
plur						nami	nacimi	nimi	toko	toko	toko
sing	ni			ciki	kimi				na	na(ci)	na(mi)
	niri			ciki	tiki				na	na(ci)	na(mi)
dual 2nd	nici			ciki	kimi				ci.	ci.	ci
	nirici			ciki	tiki				ci.	ci	ci.
plur	nini			ciki	kimi				ni	ni(ci)	ni(mi)
	nirini			ciki	tiki				ni	ni(ci)	ni(mi)
sing	ni	saci	sa	ciki	kimi	na	naci	nimi.	iu	iu(ci)	iu(mi)
	niri	saraci	sara	ciki	tiki	na	naci	nimi	liu	liu(ci)	liu(mi)
dual 3rd	nici	saci	saci	ciki	kimi	naci	naci	nimi	ci.	ci	ci(mi)
	nirici	saraci	sara	ciki	tiki	naci	naci	nimi.	ci	ci	ci(mi)
plur	nimi	sami	sami	ciki	kimi	nami	nacimi	nimi	mi	mi(ci)	mi
	nirimi	sarami	sarami	ciki	tiki	nami	nacimi	nimi	miri	miri(ci)	miri

Table II. Indicative endings of the transitive verb yalmu "strike". Each ending is preceded by the invariant stem yala-. In each box past tense endings are given below present tense ones. Forms expressing interaction between first person inclusive (of audience) and second person (audience) do not occur. Bracketed parts of endings are optional.

3. 21. Variants.

Before trying to analyse the structure of Table II, we must note some points where the data is subject to doubt or variability. Informants sometimes had considerable difficulty in deciding what form they themselves would use especially for combinations of Aff and Cs that do not arise often. For clarity the Table only gives forms elicited from informant G, except as in note (d).

(a) Informant TR, whose knowledge of the language, certainly as regards vocabulary, was less than G's, differed from the Table especially in his handling of the 2nd person Aff. For instance, for 1 excl Cs he gave the following present tense series

Aff	sing	dual	plur
dual	cuku	cuku or nici	cuku
Cs			
plur	ku	ku	ku

In the past tense negative he gave similar forms with the regular addition of the suffix wa (cf. 3.33); for the same tense and Aff but 3rd person Cs, he sometimes included, sometimes omitted, the na or ni regularly given by G. For 1 excl Aff and 2nd Cs, he preferred to avoid the issue by using the impersonal suffix pa (cf. 3.56).

(b) For 1 S Cs, 2 P Aff, the ending nini is sometimes heard in place of ni, and is perhaps the older form.

(c) For 3 D Cs, 2 P Aff, G gave, in addition to nimi, the (surprising) alternative nacimit and TR also suggested nici.

(d) In the 1 incl Aff past Mukli speakers consistently gave saDDa.

This is morphologically curious and is most easily explained as the result of contamination by the aspectual sa(t)- (5.12). The forms with sara given in the table were recorded from TR and in other villages. Hodgson (22:116) gives "swa" and "swada".

3.22. Analytical approach.

Given that the second person singular pronoun is ganat it makes sense to say oft for instance yalna "he struck you" that its ending agrees with the Aff. On the other hand, in the homonymous yalna "you struck him" the ending equally clearly agrees with the Cs. It is this sort of apparent contradiction that makes the Table cry out for analysis. It might be objected that it was pointless to analyse the endings of transitive verbs in terms of agreement with some aspect (i.e. person, number, inclusivity) of Aff or Cs, since in fact they are appropriate to combinations of both. For example yalcuku occurs in Table II only under 3rd person Aff, and in a sense therefore it refers just as much to this as to 1st person dual excl Cs. On the other hand both in pronouns and intransitive verbs cuku is associated only with 1st person dual excl; moreover ciki (which is related to

cuku, cf. 3.24) is associated with the same person. It is thus reasonable to say that yalcuku is related to, or agrees with its Cs in a much more positive sense than it does with its Aff.

3.23. The number particles.

These particles ci and mi, respectively dual and plural, have a number of properties not shared with the endings more closely related to person. (With ci we may include its allomorphs cip, co, scu) In Table II they are the only particles which may be optional. They alone can be suffixed to infinitives:

orciplāi sīmuci basi "it is necessary to teach these two"

but golāi/gukulāi sīmu basi "it is necessary to teach me/us"

They are not confined to one or other case, like ni, or one or other person, like ni. They are the only particles from Table II which may be suffixed to parts of speech other than verbs and pronouns; this is certainly true of the duals as in nici miuciuci, "both men", though it might be debated whether in miuciumim "men" the suffix was really the same morpheme as the plural number particle in verbs.

Although number particles refer sometimes to Aff, sometimes to Cs, it may be noted that the same number particle never occurs twice in a single ending, i.e. endings such as *mimi or *cukuci never appear.

3.24. First person Aff.

Dividing the Table vertically into three blocks according to the person of Aff, and starting with the first person, we see at once that ni refers to 1 S Aff, sa to 1 incl Aff, and ki to 1 excl Aff. These relationships between person and particle may be compared with those in intransitive endings and in pronouns:

	sing	excl dual	excl plur	incl
transitive	ŋi/ŋiri	ciki/ciki	ki/tiki	(sa/sara)
intrans	ŋu/ŋuro	cuku/coko	ku/toko	(i/Di)
pronoun	to	gucuku	guku	(guy)

Ignoring the inclusive forms, it will be seen that the top line is characterised by the high front vowels the lower two by back rounded vowels. We shall not here examine the implications of the difference for a morphemic analysis (cf. V.3) so far as junctural behaviour is concerned this distinction of vowel is unimportant and ki is allotted to ending class KU, tiki to TO, etc. However the distinction of tense is important again and ciki present tense belongs to CI, ciki past tense to CITO. sa and sara are allotted to a new ending class SA.

The treatment of number in this block is complex and without obvious system, and little would be gained by reexpressing in words the data presented in the Table. Sometimes the number particle must refer to Affs as in saci with 3 S Cs, sometimes to Cs, as in ŋimi. The dual number particle precedes ki the plural one follows it or is absent. The one general organising principle is that particles referring to Cs if they occur at all, always follow those referring to Aff.

3.25. Second person Aff.

In this block the puzzling feature is the distribution of na and ni. However if we ignore the topmost row of boxes the matter is less problematic. The Aff is referred to in the singular by nas in the dual by nacis in the plural by nimi, though in one box the latter ending has been infiltrated by a ci which refers to Cs. In the top row of boxes the plural number particle is absent and the na of the other rows is replaced by ni. The term replacement can perhaps here be given a diachronic as well as a purely formal meaning. Two factors may be acting in conjunction. (a) We have already noted in

1.13 a general tendency due to Nepali influences for a polite plural to replace the singular. (b) In the 1st Aff block (3.24) we met a general tendency for Aff endings of transitive verbs to have the high front vowel where those for intransitive verbs have a back and sometimes lower one. So analogy with that block may have facilitated a change from na to ni. In any case it is not clear why the postulated change should have affected only forms with 1 S Cs.

No new ending classes are introduced, na or ni with anything that may follow them being allotted to NA or NATO on the principles explained in 3.11.

3.26. Third person Aff.

It will be seen at once that this block has a very different structure from the other two. In the first person Aff block, the person particles ɲis sa and ki are distributed in columns or adjacent pairs of columns. In the second person Aff block either na or ni occur as marks of the second person throughout all three columns. In the 3rd person Aff block the distribution of particles is in rows and there are no particles confined to particular columns; the 3rd person Aff is essentially unmarked. Admittedly the number particles are characteristic of the dual and plural columns but they are often optional and in any case are found somewhere in every column of the table. This difference in pattern can hardly be an artifact of the layout of the data, and must represent a significantly different principle of organisation. In other blocks the first particle in every ending and sometimes the whole of the endings refers to the Aff; here it refers to the Cs. In this respect the endings of this block of course resemble those of transitive verbs in Nepali and other Indo-European languages though there is no reason to attribute the resemblance to Nepali influence. However this does provide a

likely explanation of the variants from Tingla give in 3.21(a). It is said that some Tingla speakers even say miri in place of niri, a usage so completely out of tune with the structure of the first person block that it must surely be explained as the result of Nepali influence. It may be noted that in translating Nepali transitive verb forms Thulung speakers invariably give forms appropriate to the 3rd person Affs AS gives no hint of the different forms for the other persons.

The endings not so far met with are allotted to old or new ending classes as follows u to PU, to to To (as distinct from the TO of Table I) li and liu to DA, iu to I.

3.3. Negative and Conditional.

The reason for grouping together these apparently disparate topics is that the past tense negative and the past tense conditional are identical except for the negative particle in the former.

3.31. The negative particle.

This is either mi or me, either being equally acceptable in most contexts. In certain phrases one or other is obligatory as in me-e "no" (hoina N)s, miw "there isn't any" etc. (chaina N). It immediately precedes the verb in all situations, e.g. me jarmi "they do not/will not fall"s, hellowo mi jarpa miuciu "a man who never falls".

3.32. Past tense negative.

The full forms of this tense can usually be formed by adding the suffix wa to the present tense negatives mi jarpuwa "I did not fall", mi yaluwa "I did not strike him". However the 3 S Past negative of intransitives can be formed by adding wa not to the 3 S pres with its zero ending but to the imperative form (3.4 below)s i.e. jarmu gives

mi jarawa not mi jarwa. Other instances where the past tense negative cannot be formed by the rule given in this section are treated in 4.38.

The suffix wa is always acceptable (as in AS p.88)a but following i or iu it is often represented by sya. Moreover forms from this tense are particularly likely to be abbreviated even at normal rates of speech, giving rise to free variants such as the following:

mi goakiuya or mi goakwa "give" 3 S past negative.
mi theriuya or mi theDb a "know how to" 3 S past neg.
mi bayawa or mi bayya "be" 3 S past neg.

For the possibility of alternation between wa and na v. 7.7.

3.33. Conditional.

The same forms as in the past negative are used in past impossible conditions:

wo yokawa la, miuciu jarawa
rain had-come-down if, the-man would-have-fallen.
wo mi yokawa la, miuciu mi jarawa
"If it had not rained the man would not have fallen".

3.4. Imperative endings.

Table III

		Affi i.e. 1st or 3rd person "dative" (here recipient)					
		1 sing	1 dual	1 plur	3 sing	3 dual	3 plur
Cs, i.e.	sing	ni	ciki	ki	a	aci	ami
2nd person,	dual	nici	ciki	kici	ci	ci	cimi
(here donor)	plur	nini	cikini	kini	ni	nici	nimi

Second person imperative endings elicited with goak- "give".

3.41. Second person imperatives.

The rules so far stated concerning the presence and ordering of personal endings in the indicative apply also in the imperative (Table III)s We may note particularly that number particles never occur twice in a single ending (3.23)s and that endings referring to 1st person Aff precede any referring to Cs, whereas those referring to 3rd person Aff, if they appear at all, follow those referring to Cs (3.26)s Intransitive verbs take the endings of the 3 sing Aff column.

Owing to an oversight in the field the only ending of the imperative that was systematically checked for different stems was that in a, which, like the ending of the 3 S past intrans negative and the 3 S past conditional, is allotted to ending class A. Assuming that the junction behaviour of imperative endings with k stems is typical of that with other stems, the ni, nis ci and ki of imperative endings belong respectively in the ending classes η ITOs NATO, CITO and an unlabelled class resembling CITO, rather than η I, NA, CI and KU. We shall be able to form a better idea of their likely behaviour from 4.38.

Hodgson usually gives the ending ka rather than a for sk stem verbs (goakka, rokka "come", lukka "depart" in 89.80, 102, 103), but does not always do so, e.g. kēka (89:103) from kek- "dig". Otherwise his imperatives agree with modern forms, and the -kk- is perhaps due to fusion with the verb of the particle ka (cf. 7.84)s

3.42. First person imperatives.

Under this heading we may note the hortative nuance available to forms in the inclusive indicative, e.g. lēcī/leksi "let's go" (dual/plural).

3.43. Third person imperatives.

These are expressed with the aid of the particle niu (only member of ending class NIU). In origin this is probably the 3 S pres of niu- "be well, be right" (hunu N)s but it is used to render what Clark (p.122 ff) calls the 3rd person of the Nepali aorist injunctives e.g. yalniu "let him strike him" corresponds to kuTos N. It seems to be felt to be an ending like any other. For instance it has a negative mi yalniu; yalsi mi niu "one should not strike"s where the same part of niu- appears as a free-standing verb, is a different construction (v. 7.41).

3. 5. Impersonal endings.

This section makes no attempt at exhaustive treatment of the various particles. The names given them are tentative and might well on deeper analysis turn out to be inappropriate.

3.51. Infinitive particle mu.

Ending class MI.

ham bomu "What's to be done?" (ke garnu N)

go hāTla lōmu doakpu

I market+up-to to-go like.

"I enjoy going to market"

sāunbharka resepma khlimu diummi

Sāun-complete+ka rice to-plant they-finish

"They finish the rice planting by the end of the month of Sāun"

romthimubittikai

to-arrive+as-soon-as

"immediately on arrival"

biyā bomu meokka prəŋDium

wedding to-make that+ka founded

"That was the origin of weddings"

Especially before basi "it is necessary", the ending is often abbreviated tos-m, in which case the preceding vowel is shortened. Thus lēm "go" gives go lem basi "I must go".

3.52. Purposive particle Da

Only member of ending class Da (distinct from DA). This is the same morpheme as the postposition used with nouns expressing rest at or motion towards (v. IV 4.1).

yo brebDa lekxa

salt to-buy go

"Go and buy some salt"

DulebDa ləsta

to-walk (for pleasure) he-has-gone

"He has gone for a walk"

3.53. Continuative participle to.

Ending class TO.

Common with let- "be engaged in", e.g. petto leTpu "I am busy eating".

jetto leTmirilonə jhari yokta

speaking they-were-busy+while+na the rain fell.

In the form tona the particle is given by AS (pp.34s 88) as the equivalent of -dai N. one of Clark's (p. 285 ff) imperfective participles. Just as the Nepali participle has the variant forms da, dai, do and da (and equivalents with initialst), one sometimes finds in Thulung Da where to would be expected; possibly there is some relationship with the Da of 3.52. Hodgson (who incidentally also uses

yal- for his paradigms) notes "yalda yalda" as an "impersonal continuative" (89:80). The following usage, though ill understood, must also be mentioned in this context: khrem- "cover" gives both khremsi(t)- "cover oneself" (5.13) and khremta simu/siηDo/siDDa "stay covered" (infin/1 S past/3 S past)s. Similarly gen- "sit" gives genta si(t)- "be seated".

3.54. Participial sa.

Ending class SA. This particle is not well understood (cf. 7.43)s but for the moment we may simply note its occurrence in a present participial sana and a past participial saka.

jam pesaηa buηu

rice eating I-am

"I am having my meal"

jam pesaka leηDo

rice having-eaten I-went

"I left after a meal"

jam pesaka lekxa

rice having-eaten go

"Have a meal before you go"

mimsa mimsaka je

remembering remembering he-speaks (of the anthropologist searching for words).

3.55. Passive participle ma.

Although it may occasionally combine in ill-understood circumstances with intransitive verbs, the passive meaning is usually clear:

miuciu yalma bayra "the man was beaten up"

kherma makāi "parched maize" from kher-"parch"

khole baya-niya chimjiulma bayra

all earth-etc. sweep+keep+ma was

"All the sweeping up had been done".

gulma bu "it is overcast" from gul- "cloud over" (which takes transitive endings)

hamsiuma roāmala

what-is-it called+up-at "Up at what's-the-name of the place"

An element ma, which may or may not be related to the one under discussion is to be found also as a coordinating particle (7.1)s in conditional constructions (7.21)s in possessive adjectives (IV 2.1)s and in certain unanalysed constructions (III 8.2. IV 5.2)s

3.56. Active participle pa.

Only member of ending class PA.

It is often used to translate Nepali -ne (infinitival participle - Clark p. 206 ff). It may substitute for personal endings in the present tenses as in bante lekpa? "Where are you going?", "Where is he going?", etc. (kahā jāne? N). Similarly it forms a future tense: lekpa bunu "I shall go" (jānechu N). It easily forms nouns referring to performers of an action e.g. phirpa "tailor" from phir- "sew". It is often used adjectivally as in hamko cekpa miuciu "what a knowledgeable man!" from cek- "know"s (cf. IV 2.31)s Cf. also hamko mi thelsiTpa "how troublesome to peel" from thel- "peel". Some verbs take pa where an infinitive might seem possible, notably līsimu as in lekpa līsimu "pretend to be going".

3.57. Functional suffix khop.

Ending class KU.

Used to form verbal adjectives, this suffix means "performing such and such a function"; used to form nouns it means "object used

for performing such and such an activity". or "place for performing it".
batti jiulkhop "place for putting candle" (jiul- "keep, put")
choāra cēkhop "goat shed" (ceks- "shut up")
cekpu senkhop gyaTis "catapult for killing birds" (set- "kill")
kole reākhop Tebilnun "together with one writing table" (reak- "write")

4. Combination of stem and ending.

Excluding Nepali loans (6)s all disyllabic verbs in Thulung can be analysed as compound verbs (5). The problem of this section is thus how the endings described in 3 combine with monosyllabic stems, and this in turn is mainly a function of the final consonant of the stem. The permissible phonological relationships between stem vowel and stem consonants are discussed in V 1, and the association of certain stem consonants with certain types of meanings in V 2.

4.1. Main types of stem.

Any contrastive post-nuclear consonant (II 3.22) may act as stem consonant, with two exceptions. (a) In this role dental and cerebral are not in contrast and we shall write of stems inst rather than in T. (b) It would be possible to describe a class of undifferentiated semivowel stems (saysy stems)s but this expedient seems artificial (see further 4.35), and instead we shall conceive of this class as lacking a stem consonant and write of V (i.e. vowel) stems.

4.1.1. Examples of main types of stem.

stem	transitive stems	intransitive stems
r	par- "throw"	ber- "grow"
l	yal- "strike"	ba(y)wal- "be in the habit of sitting around"
m	cium- "catch"	hom- "swell"
n	theon- "drive"	gen- "sit"

η Du(η)- "drink	hu(η)- "enter" (for brackets see 4.34)
p krip- "cut"	khrap- "lament"
t bret- "sell"	hut- "fly"
k goak- "give"	roak- "says"
s loas- "see, receive"	ses- "be cured"
V bre- "buy"	si- "die"

4.2.

TABLE IV

ending class	r	l	m	n	(η)	p	t	k	s	V
PU	ru	lu ¹	mpu	npu	ηu ⁴	pu	Tpu	kpu	w ⁹	w
To	rto	lto	mto	nto	-to ⁵	pto	tto	kto	wto	wto ¹⁰
Da	rra	lla	mDa	nDa	bDa	bDa	DDa	bDa	bDa	bDa
DA	rra ²	lla ²	mDa	nDa	ηDa	bDa	DDa	kta	sta	yra ¹¹
A	ra ²	la ²	mDa	nDa	ηa	bDa	ra	ka	sa	ya
I	ri ²	li ²	mDi	nDi	ηi	bDi	ri	ki	si	y
TO	rto	lto	mto	nto	tto	pto	tto	kto	tto	tto
MA	rma	lma	mma	nma	ηma	pma	Tma	-ma ⁸	mma	mma
NATO	rna	lna	mna	nna	nna	pna	Tna	-na ⁸	nna	nna
CITO	rci	lci	mci	nci	cci	pci	cci	kci	cci	cci
NIU	rniu	lniu	mniu	nniu	ηniu	pniu	Tniu	kniu	sn ¹² iu	niu
SA	rsa	lsa	msa	nsa	-sa	psa	sa ⁶	ksa	-sa	sa
PA	rpa	lpa	mpa	npa	-pa	pa	Tpa	kpa	-pa	pa
MITO	rmiri	lmiri	mmiri	nmiri	mDi	pmiri	Tmiri	mDi ⁸	mDi	mDi
ηUTO	rηuro	lηuro	ηηuro	n ηuro	ηDo	kηuro	Tηuro	ηDo ⁸	ηDo	ηDo
KU	rku	lku	mku	nku	-ku	mku	nku	-ku	-ku	ku
ηU	rηu	lηu	mηu ³	nηu ³	ηu	mηu ³	ηηu	ηu	ηu	ηu
NA	rna	lna	mna	nna	-na	mna	na ⁷	-na	-na	na
Z	r	l	m	n		m	n			

Usual mode of juncture of stem with classes of ending. Raised numbers refer to notes in 4.21. Ending classes MI and CI show the same junctural effects as KU and have been omitted. Where classes have more than one member, the ending chosen as example is as follows: DA 3 S past intr., A imperative, I 1 incl P pres, TO as in 3.53, NATO 2 S past, CITO 1 D past, SA as in Table II, KU 1 excl P pres, ηU 1 S pres intr, NA 2 S pres.

4.21. Interpretation of Table IV.

Taken in conjunction with section 3, Table IV is intended to make it possible to predict the paradigms of all verbs whose stem is straightforward (the others are treated in 4.33-9)s Let us for example predict the 1 excl D pres of roak- "say", whose stem consonant is evidently k. Table I shows that the ending is cuku which is allotted to ending class CI. According to the legend of Table IV this ending class behaves like KU. Looking across the KU row to the k stem column we see that in juncture with such an ending the stem consonant will be lost and the stem vowel lengthened, i.e. the required form is roācuku.

It is possible that the ending ni should be allotted not to ηU but to a separate ending class ηI, somewhat resembling MI in junctural properties. This is because it seems that insk and andss stems (no testable examples were found for sni) the stem vowel remains long before ni but not before nu. Unfortunately however the data on this point are uncertain.

4.22. Variants and notes on Table IV.

1. lpu in Tingla.

2. Cf. 4.89. AS (p.75) gives the 3 S past form parDiu. Hodgson (89:80) similarly gives yalDiu (as well as yalstiu).

3. The stem consonant is optionally assimilated to s_η.
4. From Du(η)- Mukli has Dū; Hodgson (89:100) gives Duwu.
5. AS (p.64) gives Du_ηto
6. Sometimes Tsa.
7. nna in Tingla.
8. Respectively kma, kna, kmiri, k_ηiri (though not *k_ηuro) in Tingla
9. Where the stem vowel is the diphthong oa it simplifies to a before w.
10. Occasionally wDo in Tingla.
11. With 3 S past intr many common verbs in fact take ra with lengthened stem vowel, though AS (pp. 28,96) gives luyDa; with the 3 S past trans yriu and iuriu are probably in free variation.
12. Stem consonant sometimes lost as in dōniu, from dos- "move".

There can be no doubt that further investigation would bring to light other variants. Some are discussed in 4.3.

4.3. Formal processes occurring in stem-ending juncture.

In spite of the degree of variability apparent from 4.22, it is worth attempting some general comments on the information summarised in Table IV. In the course of examining it, we shall introduce a certain amount of new information not included in 4.2. We shall discuss the junction of stem and ending in terms of processes such as assimilation or replacement, but these are to be understood in a formal or phenomenological senses not a diachronic one. One problem is that in a number of the rows of Table IV, there is no certain way of deciding which phonemes belong to stem and which to endings or indeed, whether there are not some which belong to neither; this applies for instance in the I row to the D of the ending bDi.

However it is usually obvious what is stem and what is ending and the doubtful instances are too few to invalidate this sort of analysis.

4.31. Liquid stems.

These present the most straightforward paradigms. The stem consonant is always present and unaltered. In at least the purposive row it has even assimilated the ending t just as happens in nouns with the same postposition t cf. della "in the village", pharra "at the edge" from del and phar (v. IV 1.62).

4.32. Labial and dental stems. "Weakening".

We may note first the tendency for tm to be assimilated by a following t, and, with the stop, the comparable occurrence of kniri where *pniri might have been expected. The geminate sequence -pp- is extremely rare in the language and where it might be expected in verbs it is always replaced by a single t.

The last four rows of the t and t columns contrast with the remainder in an important respect. Apart from a few exceptions, due to assimilation or local variants, the last four rows lack the stop that characterizes the stem and in its stead show the homorganic nasal. We shall refer to this as the "weakening" of the stem or of the stem consonant, and to the endings which produce it as "weakening" endings. The vertical arrangement of the rows in the Table is of little importance except insofar as it groups together weakening endings at the bottom.

4.33. Loss of stem consonant to greater extent than predicted by Table.

With labial stems this is rather rare. AS writes the infinitive of tp stems with a single tm rather than with mm in some two thirds of his thirty or so examples, but never abbreviates tm stems in the same

way. In Mukli the abbreviation appears optional in a few verbs and is obligatory in deomu "shine" which also gives a 3 S pres form deo not *deom. Where, as in this instance, a stem consonant is lost to a greater extent than Table IV predicts, it is written in brackets, as deo(p)-; for the special case of sŋ stems see 4.34.

With t and d stems, additional loss sometimes optional, sometimes obligatory is quite common. If it occurs it seems always to do so with all the weakening endings, though not necessarily only with them. The loss of a stem consonant (or of its weakened form) is usually compensated for by a lengthened stem vowel. For instance the stem consonant of ta(n)- "fall" is identified with some confidence from forms such as the 3 S past tanDaŋ but appears only as vowel length in infinitive tāmuŋ 3 S pres tāŋ 2 D pres tāciŋ and (with non-weakening endings) in tāniu and tāpa (variant of tanpa)s

When the stem consonant is lost before dissyllabic or multisyllabic endings beginning with mi, ŋi or ŋu, the usual effect is not for the vowel to be lengthened but for the opening nasal of the ending to be absorbed into the first syllable and the subsequent vowel to drop out, giving for instance the 3 S past tamDi rather than *tāmiri. This process is attended by considerable free, idiolectal or dialectal variations and no attempt was made to study it in detail.

4.34. Velar stems.

It will be seen from the Table that the tendency already noted for vowel lengthening to replace stem consonants is more regularly found with velars than with the other stem consonants so far treated, though again there is considerable variability. The column labelled (ŋ) gives the forms found in the commoner verbs. Towards the end of

the fieldwork period some less common verbs were found where the stem consonant is retained in more forms (e.g. so₁mu "cram") but unfortunately paradigms were not recorded. Presumably they would resemble those of m and n stems.

4.35. Sibilant and vowel stems.

The paradigm of sibilant stem verbs combines features akin to those of velars with others akin to those of vowel stems. However they raise a number of problems and discussion is deferred to V 2.2.

We are now in a position to appreciate the dilemma as to the label to be given to V stems (cf. 4.1). It would certainly be possible to describe them as having semivowel stems. One might point in support to the semivowels in the endings wto, yra and andsya, and to the geminate consonants in tto, mma, nna and cci, where the first member of the pair might be regarded as representing the lost semivowel. In addition one might note the form khuymiksi "sidelong glance" cf. khu- "steal" and miksi "eye". On the other hand there is only one inflection (4.22 note 11) in which the stem vowel is lengthened when the postulated stem consonant is omitted. Although at first sight it might seem neat to be able to treat semivowels in the same way as other syllable final consonants, it is not clear in diachronic perspective whether they can lay claim to such a status (V 1.4). Moreover it must be remembered that the labels for the ending classes are only intended as convenient mnemonic devices. In many instances they are formally identical with clearly defined elements that appear in other parts of speech (notably pronouns) and could be regarded straightforwardly as morphs. In other instances however this is not the case, and in particular it is not so in those rows of Table IV where the semivowels appear.

4.36. Three irregular vowel stem verbs.

These three common verbs form a subclass defined by the fact that their stem vowel varies with the ending, as shown in Table V.

Table V

	V	p(e)- "eat"	b(a)- "be"
PU	w	pew	(caret)
To	wto	pewto	"
Da	bDa	pebDa	babDa
DA	yriu	piūriu	bayra
A	ya	pe	baya
I	y	piy ¹	buy ²
TO	tto	petto	batto
MA	mma	pemma	(caret)
NATO	nna	penna	banna
CITO	cci	pecci	bacci
NIU	niu	piuniu	buniu
SA	sa	pesa	basana
PA	pa	pepa	baTpa
MITO	mDi	pemDi	bamDi
ηUTO	ηDo	peηDi	baηDo
KU	ku	poku	buku
ηU	ηu	poηi	buηu
NA	na	pona	buna
Z		(caret)	bu

Paradigms of p(e)- and b(a)- compared with those of V stem verbs. Conventions are as in Table IVa, though it is not always possible to exemplify a particular ending class with the standard ending. b(e)- "make, do" differs from p(e)- only in its initial consonant. Naturally this pair have no intransitive forms, just as b(a)- has no transitive ones. Notes: (1) the 3 S pres of p(e)- is piu, not *piiu as the Table would suggest (similarly biu not *biiu)s (2) In the past negative and conditional the 1 incl P is (mi) baywa. It will be seen that all the weakening endings alter the stem vowel and few of the others do. The stem vowels of the forms with niu are the same as those of the 3 S pres. For the T in baTpas cf. 5.23 and for the conjugation of b(e)-, cf. 6.1.

As is suggested by the brackets round the stem vowels, we regard this class of stem as bearing to ordinary vowel stems a similar relationship to that holding between for instances(t) and st stems.

4.37. Verbs which never lengthen their stem vowel.

The common verbs of motion, ge(t)- "come up", rok- "come circuitously"s bik- "come directly", and yok- "come down", never take the long stem vowel with weakening endings; nor do thok- "ripen" or thik- "be cooked". About 50% of s verbs apparently never lengthen their stem vowel (e.g. jes- "speak"); nor do the second elements of compound verbs.

4.38. Past tense negative and conditional.

The general rule for forming these tenses has been given in 3.3s but it does not apply to the combinations of stem and ending class listed below. These forms are of additional interest in suggesting the forms that might have been found if the imperative had been investigated more thoroughly (cf. 3.41)s

	p	t	k	s	p(e)-	b(a)-
NA	pnawa	Tnawa	-nawa ¹	-ṇawa	-nawa	penawa banawa
CI	pciya	ciya ²	kciya	-ciya	-ciya	peciya baciya
KU	pkuwa	Tkuwa	kkuwa	-kuwa	-kuwa	pekuwa bakuwa
MI ³	pmiya	Tmiya	mba ¹	mba	mba	pemba bamba

1. Usually knawa, kmiya in Tingla
2. The lack of -cc- is unexpected.
3. ṇi behaves similarly except that sp + ṇiya gives kṇiya.

The forms in the lowest row are normal in Mukli though for the last four -miya, -miya, bemiya and bamiya are also acceptable. With ṇi in place of mi the short forms are in ṇwa. When other particles follow we find e.g. gani golāi mi goaṇniya "you (pl) did not give me".

The informant TR accepted a great deal of variation in the forms for this tense, and we give only those preferred by G. Even he accepted TR's bonawa as an alternative to benawa. AS (p.88) gives mi benawa and mi pennawa on the same pages thus confirming the variability of these forms. (It is interesting to note a variability in the corresponding Nepali forms: AS (ibid) renders mi beniwa as garyaunā, where the usual present day Nepali is garenaũ)s In spite of these variants, the general rule is clearly that weakening changes, either to stop stem consonants or to the stem vowels in (V) verbs do not apply here.

4.39. "Additional s".

Under this heading we may group together certain possibly disparate phenomena which have not been thoroughly understood. The s is "additional" in two senses, (a) in that it is not shown in Table IV, (b) in that it sometimes gives rise to triple consonant sequences such as are not found elsewhere in the language (II 1.21)s

The additional s is found only with three ending classes:

	r(s)	l(s)	ms	ps	ts	ks
DA	reta	lsta	(m)sta	psta	stiu	sta
A	rsa	lsa	msa	psawa	sa	ksa
I	reiu	lei	msi	psi	siu	kai

It seems that the additionalse is never necessary in liquid stems, and that in the Mukli dialect it is optional in about 15% of r stems (including par- "throw") and incorrect in the remainder (e.g. in ber- "grow")s. About 15% of st stems optionally or preferentially take the additionalse endings (e.g. that(s)- "take out", kit(s)- "cut up")s while in a few verbs they are obligatory, e.g. inskleots- "scour", which may thereby be distinguished from kleot(s)- "omit", in which it is optional. The remaining additional s stems are seldom variants and constitute distinct stem classes, with examples as follows:

stem	transitive	intransitive
ms	Dams- or dams- "mislay"	dams- "get lost, be defeated"
ps	caps- "be able; leak"	jhaps- "be possible"
ks	koke- "raise"	leke- "go"

The 3 S past of dams- is damsta, of ems- "sleep" is emsta, but that of diums- "be, be finished" is usually diustas rarely diumsta. Possibly further investigation would bring to light other additional s stems, e.g. in ns. We return to the topic of additional s in 5.24 and particularly V 2.2.

4.4. Intrinsically long stem vowels.

Long vowels contrasting with short ones in closed syllables are very rare, and the only examples to be established were in the

following pairs of verbs:

ge(t)s- "come up"	gē(t)- "cultivate"
seot- "carry down"	seō(t)- "be defeated"
seo- "say"	
ches- "awake"	chē(n/t)- "recognise"
chet- "rinse"	
jes- "speak"	jē(t)- "last, endure"
ghret- "fit"	ghrē(t)- "be constipated"

Where forms derived from stems in the two columns otherwise resembled each other (e.g. in the 2 D past or the 2 S past)s in careful speech G distinguished those with long stem vowel from those with short.

In several of the pairs it is possible to suspect a semantic and etymological relationship between the members (cf. V 2.2-4).

5. Compound verbs.

Compound verbs are generally made up of two stems apart from any inflections, and are very common in Thulung. As in Nepalis one occasionally meets forms in which three successive verbs stems are compounded.

5.1. Semantic considerations.

5.1.1. Coordinate compounds.

Often both stems in a compound verb can occur outside compounds in free standing verbal forms, and if so they may contribute more or less equally or coordinately to the meaning. Thus rok- "come (not directly)s" and ge(t)- "come up" give romgemu "turn up from downhill".

Similarly rok- and yok- "come down" give romyomu "appear from uphill". sal- "pick out" and p(e)- "eat" give salpomu "pick and choose while

eating".

du(ŋ)- "drink" and bik- "come" give imperative Duŋbika "have a drink and then come".

5.12. "Aspectuals"

Without examining closely the range of semantic relationships between the two stems, it may be said that such examples shade into those where the bulk of the semantic content is carried by the first element and the second contributes only some comment on or modification of the first. Such second stems will be referred to as aspectuals. They are a very typical feature of Nepali (Clark p.265 ff) and since the nuance conveyed by the aspectual is sometimes difficult to render in English the Nepali glosses in some of the following examples may be more helpful than the English ones.

a. get- "put down" and jeol- "place, keep" give getjeol- "put down and leave", basirākhnu N.

b. phit- "bring" and sat- "give" (in a few idioms) give phinsamu "bring", lāidinu N.

c. sok- "pay" and sat- give somsamu "pay", tiridinu N.

Often the aspectual is not found (or has not been recognised) outside compound verbs.

d. b(a)- "bes sit, stay" and -wal- "do habitually" give bumwalmu "sit around the place"s basihĩDnu N.

e. b(a)- and -loak- (which conveys a certain emphasis, abruptness or finality) give bumloamu (= basihālnu N AS) "sit right down".

f. jhar- "fall" and -leak- (probably same as -loak-) give jharleamu "collapse".

g. ploas- "forget" and -cet- "pretend" give ploamcemu "pretend to forget".

h. What is presumably an aspectual appears in lamdi- "walk", (cf. leks- "go", lam "path").

In the following four examples the basic meaning of the aspectual is uncertain, though its effect on the meaning of the first element is clear.

i. par- "throw" and -tha(t)- give parthamu "throw away", phyānkihālnu N.

j. rok- "come" and -pha(t)- give romphamu "arrive (near speaker)", āipugnu N.

k. rok- and -thi(t)- give romthimu "reach"s pugnu N; cf. 7.7.

l. sok- "pay, take" and -thi(t)- give somthimu "accompany".

5.13. The aspectual -sit-.

This is so common as to deserve a section to itself. It seems not to appear as a free-standing verb except as in 3.53. The effect of adding it to a transitive verb is often similar to that of changing a verb from active to middle voice in classical Greek. The resulting compound is often intransitive, but by no means necessarily. Examples

khop- "collect" (trans) gives khomsimu "come together"

khean- "put on a tilt" gives kheansimu "be tilted"

rim- "twist" gives rimsimu "twist oneself round"

bip- "insert" gives bimsimu "insert in one's clothing" (e.g. kukri tucked under the waist-cloth, or pen clipped into pocket)

Often the stem preceding sit- cannot be recognised elsewhere, as is the case with hīsimu "fit" (within a container) (intrans)s Verbs in -sit- are liable to certain abbreviations, and it is possible that this is the origin of some verbs with ss stems (V 2.2)s

5.14. Causatives.

Causatives are typically expressed by compounds with bet- as second member. Thus phir- "sew" and bet- gives phirbenmu "get sewns have (a tailor) sew". Much as Nepali has a number of verbs in -āunu which are causatives only in form, so compounding with bet- occurs sometimes when the meaning is transitive but not strictly causative, as in roabenmu "say", used the same contexts as roāmu. bet- appears as a free standing verb in expressions such as seoki beT_niri "I have a cough". In V 2.3 we discuss its relationship to b(e)- "make", together with a small class of verbs which might also be regarded as causatives.

5.2. Morphology.

Data were not checked with the same degree of attention as was given to non-compound verbs and some of the rules stated below are based on rather few examples. Even so they are valuable as giving some confirmation to the concepts developed earlier in the chapter.

5.21. General rules of conjugation.

The form taken by the first stem is independent of the initial element of the second stem except insofar as it may be affected by the orthographic conventions of II 1.14. Endings combine with the second stem as they would if it were not part of a compound verb, except in that in this situation stem vowels are probably never long and the stem consonant is particularly likely to be lost as described in 4.33. The problem in compound verbs is to predict the alteration in the first element which may accompany the addition of endings to the second.

The general rule is that the first element shows those changes that would have occurred if it were a free-standing verb, i.e. if the endings had been added to it directly. As Table IV showed, the first syllable of liquid stem verbs is invariable whatever the ending, and when verbs having these stem consonants form the first elements of compound verbs they are correspondingly invariable. In this context m and n stems are equally invariable. The same applied to the only n stem that was tested, kheanjeolmu "store on one side"; unfortunately the commoner stems in (n) were not tested. With p and t stems the rule is obeyed;

	krip- "cut"	get- "put down"
CITO	kribjeolci	gejjeolci
CI	krimjeolci	genjeolci

With p stems ma, and with t stems sma and miri may be added to the list of weakening endings. Note also kribjeolu 1 S pres.

5.22. First elements with k stems.

These follow a slightly different rule. All endings, weakening or not, that start with a nasal (with one exception) have that nasal in the syllable final position of the first elements e.g. somthimu "accompany" gives sonthini, sonthina, somthimi in the present, sonthiTna 2 S past, and somthiTma with ma; the one exception is the ending niu, which gives sokthiTniu. Remaining weakening endings give a long stem vowel, while remaining non-weakening endings retain the syllable-final stop, e.g. goajeolci 2 D pres, goakjeolci 2 D past.

5.23. First elements with vowel stems.

These follow the general rule of 5.21 except that like those with k stems they take a syllable-final nasal if one is present in the ending. However the syllable-final consonant is often optional

as in the compounded present tense of Deo- "pick up": Deo(w)saTpu, Deo(n)sannaṣ Deo(iu)sariu... with infinitive Deo(m)samu.

The ending pa here demands a post-vocalic stop which does not appear in the non-compounded vowel stem forms (except in baTpa (4.36)). Thus si- "die" gives sipleakpa "dead" and pare- "study" (cf. 6.1) gives parepwalpa or pareTwalpa "studious".

5.24. Further notes on stem consonant of first element.

As in uncompounded verbs (4.33) this consonant may be absent in more parts than our first description has indicated. Thus when ghrok- "throw" compounds with the aspectual si(t)- the first syllable may contain a nasal (sometimes optional) and the vowel may be lengthened but the k is never preserved. We may write the compounded stem as ghro(k)si(t)-. The lability of particular stem consonants appears to be similar in compound and non-compound verbs.

As with uncompounded verbs again (4.39)s the first syllable of a compound may show an unpredicted ṣ, e.g. in osleaDDa (hĩDihālyo N)s, a 3 S past compound from on- "run"s or tasleaDDa from ta(n)- "fall".

5.25. Negative of compound verbs.

In general this is formed in the same way as that of non-compound ones, with the negative particle preceding the whole. However in some instances (not fully elucidated) the particle may separate the two elements, and it is perhaps more natural to take the first as verbal noun (cf. IV 1.4)s Thus ghram- "despise", regard as disgusting" gives ghramsimu "be disgusted"s whence comes as 1 S past neg mi ghramsinba or ghram mi sinawa. For a similar alternation see 6.2. Cf. also neri mi sinawa "I was not giddy" from ne "mind" and rimsimu from rim- "turns twist".

6. Verb stems borrowed from Nepali.

These are typically incorporated into Thulung with the addition of a suffixed e. There are only very few exceptions and they are somewhat doubtful ones: khər- "cook" (dry or in oil) is reminiscent of kharinu N "be parched or fried", ber- "grow" may be from baDhnu N, and jo(t)- "plough" from jotnu N (cf. V 2.13). For khur-, another possible loan, see IV 1.33.

6.1. Transitive.

If the verb is transitive the stems+ e may be followed by the paradigm of b(e)- "make, do". Thus paDhnu N "study, read" may be borrowed as parebomu. Often however this second stem is elided and we find a disyllabic stem with a paradigm of the (V) type. Thus paremu which is commoner than parebomu, gives (following the order of 4.36 Table V)s

parew, parewto, parebDa, pariūriu, pareya...

It will be seen that in the 3 S past the "stem vowel" e is absorbed in the ending, just as with b(e)-. Similarly we find pariūniu. The conditions under which the second syllable vowel may be long (as it is also in parēpa) were not well established.

Such verbs may themselves be compounded, paremwalmu "be in the habit of studying" giving present tenses
parewwalu, parenwalna, pariūwaliu...

Other examples:

lāunu N gives laemu or laebomu "apply"

Tālnu N " Talemu or Talebomu "patch".

6.2. Intransitive.

Here the Nepali stem with suffixed se may be conjugated with the aid of diums- "become", but again this latter element is typically

reduced in certain parts. Thus pharkāunu N "return" gives infinitive pharkemu (reduced) but 1 S pres pharkediunnaro. From khulnu N "open" (intrans) one may hear either khulediusta or khuliusta.

The negative particle may intervene between the variant and invariant parts of the verb (cf. 5.25) cāhinu N "be required" gives infinitive caemu but 3 S pres negative either cae mi dium or mi caedium.

7. Remaining verbal suffixes associated particles and constructions.

This section deals with a number of phenomena involving the verbs which stand on the border between morphology and syntax.

7.1. The coordinating particle ma.

Among its other functions, the particle ma serves to join clauses and is given by AS as the equivalent of Nepali ra (pp. 27s 34) and yera (p.27)s the latter entry puzzled me until I realised that this is how he writes (e.g. on p.87) what Clark (p.160) calls the conjunctive participles of Nepali verbs whenever they end in -ānu or -āunu. Examples:

a. jam pewtoma leṇdo (bhāt khāera gāẽ N)

"I ate a meal and went" or "After eating a meal I went"

b. jam pema leksa

"Have a meal before you go"

c. roaktama roaksoDDiu (bhanera bhanyo N)

"... he said"

In these examples the intonational pattern clearly joins the ma to the preceding verb, which can therefore in a sense be regarded as subordinated in the same way as in the khāera N of example a.

However it should be noted that in contrast to Nepali the postfixed

verb in Thulung conjugates in the normal way, and indeed, as in the next example, ma often serves simply as a means of rounding off one clause before preceding to the next.

d. leḳsa ḷeḳsa roaktama, go mi biŋsiŋwa

go go he-said+ma, I not obeyed

"He told me to go away but I took no notice"

Sometimes, finally, the particle simply opens the next intonational clause. However it is by no means the equivalent of English "and" and does not join strings of nouns.

7.2. The particle la.

(For its use as a spatial postposition see IV 4.14).

7.21. In conditional clauses.

Examples (cf. also 3.33):

a. me-e la "if not" (natra bhane N)

b. meom la "if thus" i.e. "in that case"

c. ham biu leo niu

what he-does if+even it-will-be-well

"It does not matter what he does", "Anything he does will be all right"

d. meoŋnalao (taipani N)

meo+hom+ŋa+la+wo

"However, all the same"

It is often preceded by an optional particle mā which may on occasion apparently replace it, as in me-e mā "otherwise" (natra N).

7.22. Forming a passive.

It is unclear whether the la of 7.21 is the same as the suffix la which may be used with the verb seo(m)si(t)- (not recorded in other

contexts) to form a sort of passives usually rendered in Nepali with the aid of māgnu.

Dat- "call", Danla seosimu "be called" (bolāimāgnu N)

Dep- "strike"s Demla seosimu "be strucks get a beating" (kuTimāgnu N)

loas- "see"s loāla seosimu "be seens put in an appearance" (dekhā parnu N)

ei(n)- "teach", go ganekara sīla seonṣiṇu "I get taught at Ganesṣ"

7.23. Forming verbal nouns in other contexts.

No doubt the la of 7.22 is closely related to that which appears in a rather small number of nouns, some obviously derived from verbs.

goāla "contribution to a ceremony"s cf. goak- "give"

yela bomu (hāk pārnu AS) "call out to someone far off", cf. yes-

"shout"; cf. also sela bomu "proclaim (a ceremony)s", hela khom "name of place where this proclamation is made". An etymological relationship between these three seems possible though no verb was found corresponding to the second two.

hila bomu "ask a question" no doubt belongs here though again no corresponding verb beginning with hi- could be found.

7.3. Temporal clauses.

7.31. With lo.

This morpheme is not found as a free standing noun but appears in a number of phrases where it might perhaps be rendered "time":

helo (what time) "when (in the past)"

ceocceolo (child time) "in childhood"

akothilowo me pethiṇa buṇu

this+much+time+even not I-have eaten

"I haven't eaten yet"

guci pesaṇa baccilo

"while we were eating"

petto leriloṇa jhari yo

eating we-shall-be-engaged-in+lo+ ṇa the-rain will-come.

sule jastalo

three it-sounded+lo

"At three o'clock"

7.32. With honna

The morpheme hop (or hom) appears in some contexts to mean something like "manner", e.g. in jeohom synonymous with jeopa "beautiful", or kohopmaṇa "the same" (cf. ko "one"). It is associated with lo in ahomlo "now" (a "this"), and may be suffixed to verbs rather similarly:

jemDihonna jhari yokta

"while they were speaking the rain came"

piyhonna jhari yo

"while we are eating the rain will come"

Hodgson (89:94) gives pomu hom bumu "to continue to eat".

7.33. With mere

English "as soon as" is rendered in pure Thulung with the rather rare particle mere:

ronthinamere khlosa

you-will-arrive+mere turn-round (imper)

"Come back as soon as you reach the place".

7.34. Nepali suffixes.

a. The usual construction in place of mere is bittikai N suffixed to the infinitive: romthimubittikai "immediately on arrival".

b. English "when" can often be translated with the aid of belā N +

ka (cf. IV 3.4)a

Thikka rok^{hi}Tpa belāka "immediately on arrival"

hāTla lekpa belāka

"when going up to the market"

go pewtom belāka (for -m cf. 7.5)

"When I was eating"

c. ciyā mi Duthimssamma leksi mi niu (for -thim- cf. 7.7)

tea not drink+until go not is-well

"You should not go until you have drunk your tea"

d. For construction with pachi see 7.53a and 7.62b.

7.4. The suffixes si, sa and rā.

These might be regarded as forming verbal nouns but their analysis remains problematic.

7.41. si with niu.

This common construction has already been noted and exemplified in 3.43 and 7.34c. The form with si cannot usually be replaced by the infinitive.

gāi ku seo pesi mi niu

"beef should not be eaten"

7.42. si with other verbs.

nesi bomu (= nemsimu) "boast"

theorsi bomu (=theorsimu) "be happy"

theosi thenmu (cf. theos- "hear", thet- "understand") "understand what one hears".

bajiloa jesi mi theTpu (here the infinitive jemu may replace jesi)

brahman+language speaking not I-understand

"I don't speak Nepali"

besi bomu "imitate" (nakal garnu N)ḡ a besi mi be "Don't copy me"
boa ku pesi mi be
pig of eating not do
"Don't eat like a pig" (said to greedy child)

7.43. Problematic relationship of si to sa.

The impersonal quality of the ending in 7.41-2 is reminiscent of that of the first person incl (1.3) whose Aff and Cs endings in the present are ea and si. The suspicion that these si we are considering may be related to these endings is reinforced by the following examples, though further exploration is clearly needed.

a. phipsa be (cusne gara N)

sucking make "make as if to suck(?)ḡ

The plural is phipsi benis an alternation reminiscent of that of na and ni discussed in 3.25.

b. khole hopsa bom basi, Dūsa biyla mi niu

broth sipping to-make it-is-necessarys drinking (like alcohol)

we-make+if not it-is-well

"Broth ought to be drunk gradually by sipss not gulped down"

Cf. also the participial endings saka and saṇa (3.64) and the adverbial suffix maksi (IV 3.3)t

7.44. The archaic rā.

This particle is never heard in day-to-day conversation but is remembered as an archaic idiom sometimes used in traditional stories. Its junctural behaviour was not explored. It has been recorded only in verbal phrases with bomu "make".

serā bomu "kill" from set-.

lerā bomu "go" from leks-.

kherā be (imper) "carry up" from khet-
oraṇka perā biūriu "he ate" from p(e)-

7.5. Suffixed -m.

The suffixes -m, also treated later under the heading of adjectives (IV 2.32)s is used to subordinate or embed verbs within the clause.

7.51. -msin composite tenses.

It may be used to form composite verbal expressions with the paradigm of b(a)-, here used as an auxiliary.

ham bonam buna? "what are you doing?"

guy oram kām biyim buy "We are doing (garirahanchaũ N) this work"

penim bani "Go on eating"

Corresponding to the simple past tense bewtoṣ benna... bemDi there are two composite tenses (a) bewtom buṣ bennam bu... bemDim bu, and (b) bewtom bayra... bemDim bayra. The negatives are usually formed with miw and mi bayawa replacing bu and bayraṣ but I have also recorded go mi leṇuwam bayra "I had not gone".

The simple tenses are much commoner than the composite ones and the contexts in which the latter occur have not been studied. They are said by informants to translate (without any unnaturalness) the Nepali tenses with first persons respectively garẽ, gareko chu, gareko thiẽ. For completeness we may add the form biuriuyom bayra (gariraheko thiyo N) which is perhaps related to the hom of 7.32.

As in Nepali the auxiliary is often omitted:

bantem biknam? (kahābāTa āeko?) "Where have you come from?"

In eliciting paradigms I found that some informants regularly add this -m to past tense forms but it is certainly not obligatory.

7.52. -m in adjectival clauses.

Examples:

anep go brewtom yo

today I bought+m salt "the salt I bought today"

mi theTpum loa koŋŋa reakpu

not I-understand+m words only I-write.

"I'll only write down the things I can't understand"

guci oDDa loaccim biyāra

we-two here saw+m wedding-at

"At the wedding we saw here"

go emŋurom nem

I slept+m house "the house where I slept"

ku mi bum Thāū

water not is+m place "a place without water"

7.53. -ma in noun clauses.

-ma is also used with past tense verbs in constructions such as the following:

a. diummirimpachi

they-finished+m-after "after they had finished"

b. ŋāceo bayramka

old he-was+m+ka (IV 3.42) "what with his being an old man"

c. boa banemDim repto

pig they-cut-up+m I watched "I watched them cutting up the pig"

7.54. Comparison with Nepali.

All the usages of -m correspond quite closely to those of ko as a verbal suffix in Nepali. For 7.53 cf. Clark p. 181 and 189a for 7.52 cf. id:185a for the idiom without auxiliary cf. id:179a for the

composite tenses cf. id:194, 200. However it is an important difference that in the Thulung composite past tenses the auxiliary does not conjugate, i.e. it behaves in a manner comparable to the particles treated in 7.8.

7.6. The particle mim.

It is not clear how if at all the mim treated in this subsection is related to the number particle mi of verb endings (3.23) or to the particle mi or mim which like Nepali haru follows nouns and gives their meaning a component of vagueness as well as plurality: thāl N mim "plates and the like, plates etc."

7.61. With present tense of unsubordinated verbs.

Here it seems to be optionals like the -m following past tense verbs. Its force is not clear, though it is commonest in questions.

bante lōna (mim)ə "Where are you going?"

a wāka poŋŋəmiŋŋa re roaktama

my elder-brother will-eat-me+mim+ŋa question-marker (IV 5.2) he-said+ma

"Wondering whether his elder brother would eat him"

7.62. In subordinating constructions.

Examples:

- a. utoakŋa simim nem (cf. 7.52)
himself he-will-die+mim day "the day he dies"
- b. jepser thomimpachi (cf. 7.53a)
Wheat will-ripen+mim+after "when the wheat is ripe"
- c. go pewmim belāka (cf. 7.53b)
I shall-eat+mim time+at "While I am eating"
- d. oram bemmamiŋka (cf. 7.53b)
this done+mim+ka "what with this having been done"

It would seem that mim is to present tense forms whata-m is to past tense onesa but the point needs further work.

7.7. Perfect past tense negative in -thinga

This common idiom appears to lack a precisely corresponding positive. Asked if he has eaten yet, a Thulung replies either with the ordinary positive past tense. petto "I have eaten" or with the composite mi pethinga bunu; the ordinary negative past tense mi pewwa would be unnatural.

The ending thinga is invariable for person or number but the auxiliary conjugates (contrast 7.51). It belongs in a unique ending class since it differs from TO in not taking the double tt withas or V stems.

It is possible that thinga should be related to the aspectual -thi(t)- of 5.12k-lq like the lattera in some dialects (e.g. Tinglaq it loses its aspiration. Cf. also the construction that renders English "until" exemplified in 7.34ca and the expressions akothilowo "yet" (7.31) and manthi "without".

Perhaps the second syllable of thinga derives from the particle -wa of 3.32. In support of this suggestion one might cite variants such as meorewa/meorena "just like that, for no reason" (tesai N). But the matter is uncertain, cf. IV 5.1.

7.8. Remaining particles associated with verb.

A more thorough account than this aspires to be would have to consider the relationship between the particles dealt with in this subsection and the wa of 3.3 and the hypothetical *to of V 3, as well as the constructions of the last two subsections.

7.81 e.

The particle e (rarer variant em) exactly translates Nepali re/are and indicates that the speaker does not take full responsibility for an utterance (whether statement, question or command)s but is repeating or reporting someone else's words. It immediately follows the verb.

7.82. Do.

The particle Do or ro adds a note of hesitancy to a statement. Thus kleot- "bungle" gives kleotto ro (I ought to have done its but) "I suppose I must have forgotten". AS gives Dones= holā N "perhaps".

7.83. recha.

Nepali rahecha has been borrowed into Thulung as recha (cf. II 5.4)s and adds to the meaning of the verb only a very slight nuance which can be rendered (if at all) as "it turns/turned out"s "after all".

oDDa bu recha "here it is"

oDDa miw recha "it is not round here anyway"

akherimā lemDi recha "eventually they left"

It is not so commonly used with the negative of the past tense (? because the latter already contains the recognisable particle wa)s Like what we called the auxiliaries in 7.51s and unlike the Nepali from which it derives, it remains invariant for number and is never conjugated.

7.84. Some particles used for emphasis.

The particle seo (hai N) throws emphasis on the preceding word.

oram ama seo "It's mine, I tell you"

Most often it follows an indicative or imperative verb. In the second

case it may be replaced by ka: anu bika ka "come here" a buniu ka "O.K." (hos na N). This ka may be related to the kha which appears in two entries in AS that were not understood in Mukli: kha = naa nā N and lokha athane lekai = luna abata jāu N "right let's be off". kha itself appears to be Nepali (originally Newari, according to Sarma).

The unanalysed expression do often directly precedes the dual or plural first person imperative of leks- "god", and may be used alone elliptically in the same meaning. la(=ta or tā N) is also employed after imperatives or after do.

7.9. Reduplication.

A verbal form is sometimes immediately repeated for expressive or stylistic reasons (there are examples in 1.3 and 3.54) a but reduplication of the verb stem (or, if the stem is compound, of its second syllable) is confined to a few idioms.

7.9.1. With certain verbs.

The verb doak- "like" may take a direct object as in meoram soalame gana doāna? "do you fancy that girl?", or it may take an infinitive (3.51). In the following impersonal construction its intransitive is preceded by a reduplicated verb stem which in turn may optionally be preceded by the possessive adjective.

(golāi) (a) pepe doa "I feel like eating" (khānu man lāgcha N)

(u) pepe doakta "he felt like eating"

oram kām go bebe doa "I like doing this work"

dodo mi doa "I don't feel like moving"

i parere doa? "Do you like studying?"

oram ye phēsisī doa "one likes wearing this garment"

The same construction may occur with liu- "be affected (by physical or mental state)".

a sarsar liu "I need to urinate"

The two verbs are sometimes interchangeable, as in

a phomphom (or phopho) liu/doa "I feel sick"

theortheor liu^ŋDo/da^ŋDo "I felt happy" (cf. theorsimu "be happy")

7.92. With ka.

The following phrases were noted:

i pepeka penna (khānu man lāgera khāis N) "(?) you felt like eating
so you ate"

nem sosoka "at day break" from nem "day" and so(ŋ)- "dawn".

8. Possible isolated verbal forms.

8.1. De, Dhe, e.

AS gives ho N "is" = De (p. 34) and Dhe or e (p. 30), ko ho N "who is it"i= siu De (p. 13)i and hoina N "it is not"i= "me.e"; the comma in the latter no doubt represents the glottal stop in the usual form me-e. On p. 81-2 he gives De throughout as equivalent to the present tense of hunu N. I have recorded also De re me-e "is it true or not?". It would seem that De is an isolated verbal form, though there is a certain possibility of confusion with the particles re of IV 5.2 and IV 5.4.

8.2. hamsiuma and soāca.

The phrase hamsiuma "what is it?" (ke ho N) has resisted analysis except insofar as ham means "what". It is often met with in phrases such as hamsiuma roāmano "across at what's-the-name of the place".

The expression soāca "I don't know" is the equivalent of the Nepali kunni. Turner's etymology for the latter is Sk. ko jānāti "who knows?"; eo conceivably soāca might derive from siu "who" and cek- "know".

9. Syntax.

Because of the central role of the verb in the sentence, it is convenient to include these brief comments in the present chapter.

9.1. Order of main components of sentence.

The normal order is SOV, i.e. the verb is generally final in its clauses immediately preceded by its the direct object if the sentence is transitive or by the subject if not. However word order is not rigid and a number of exceptions can be found in the texts of Chapter VI. The subject or the object or both may be implicit, or expressed only in the verb endings. The verb b(a)- is often omitted but whether this is so or not its subject typically precedes its predicate.

9.2. Marking of cases.

The main points have already been briefly stated in 2.1, i.e. that the Aff is unmarked, the Cs marked by -ka.

9.21. Use of -lāi.

There can be no doubt at all that traditionally both the direct and indirect objects have been unmarked. However it is very frequent in present day Thulung for one or other or both to be marked with the Nepali suffix lāi especially if they are animate. The tendency is treatest where the influence of Nepali is strongest, but it seems that the suffix is still always optional. It is puzzling to find that AS gives lāi N = ka (p. 70) and kaslāi N "whom"s= siuka (p. 12). He also gives

the expected le N = ka and kasle N = siuka (pp. 70, 11), and neither my informants nor myself have been able to explain the former pair of entries.

9.22. Use of -ka.

A noun that is the subject of a transitive verb is always marked by ka. Like Nepali les the suffix also obligatorily marks the instrument, and if both are expressed in one sentence it is used twice:

miuciuka gaci laurāka yalci "the man struck the two of you with a stick". It differs from Nepali -le in that it is rarely suffixed to first or second person pronouns. However it is said to be characteristically suffixed to the latter in the Ribdung dialect, and I have recorded the following examples with both persons elsewhere:

guci niphika "we both" (Mukli)

ganaka Derākhom benna (Tingla)

you lodging have-made

... roaksaka roam basi gukuka

saying to-say it-is-necessary for-us (excl)

"This is what we Thulung have to say"

The particle is also used in adverbial expressions (IV 3.4)s No doubt all three uses, adverbial, instrumental and ergative are ultimately rather similar. In all cases the -ka associates the suffixed element with the action of the verb, but shows that the association is less intimate than is that of the Aff. Compare too the use of ka in nominal phrases, both of the type jasekara "at Jase's (house)", and in genitives, as in jase kam u nem (IV 4).

9.3. Towards the breakdown of ergative structure.

Although we have presented Thulung as an ergative language, it is clear from 9.21 that this is ceasing to be the case. If it became

obligatory for the animate object to be marked with lāi it would no longer be possible to regard it as being in the same case as the subject of an intransitive verb. This change in the deeper structure of the language helps to explain informants' hesitations about verb endings (3.21), though the decreasing use of Thulung relative to Nepali must be another factor. The change might also help to explain some of the anomalies and difficulties surrounding the topic of transitivity, though certainly not all of them. Even if lāi is regarded as alien to the language and ignored on that counts it is important to recognise that the equation subject of intransitive verbs = object of transitive one only applies to the marking of cases outside the verb. Within the endings the particle representing Aff in a transitive verb may be clearly related to that representing Aff in the same person of an intransitive verbs but it is only identical with it when the subject is 2 sing. Moreover if attention is confined to transitive verbs with 3 sing Affs the endings only differ from those of an intransitive verb when the subject is 1 or 3 sing. I must leave to others the implications of such facts for the long term history of the verb in Thulung and related languages.

CHAPTER IV

BRIEF COMMENTS ON OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

No attempt will be made at any fundamental analysis and the observations of this chapter take the traditional categories for granted.

1. Nouns.

Noun classes used to exist in Thulung (6) but are not an overt feature of the present day language.

1.1. Gender distinctions.

These may be expressed by distinct words: gropu "cock" versus ghlomi "hen"; wosceo "male, man" versus mēsem "female, woman". wosceceo "son" versus mēsemceo "daughter". For animals the contrast is usually between su mam (choāra kam u mam "mother goat") and su pap "father"; though a few sex-specific pairs exist as beno "ox (goru N)" versus the borrowed gāi N "cow".

A variety of suffixes may be used to make the contrast though none of them is particularly common:

	masc.	fem.	
ciu/me	prēc <u>iu</u>	prēm <u>e</u>	"Kiranti"
	del <u>ciu</u>	del <u>me</u>	"son/daughter-in-law"
ceo/me	bec <u>ceo</u>	be <u>m</u> e	"guest"
	boap <u>ceo</u>	boap <u>me</u>	"oldest member of household"
	soal <u>aceo</u>	soal <u>ame</u>	"youth, maiden"
bo/mo(me)	hel <u>bo</u>	hel <u>mo</u> (hel <u>me</u> AS)	"child's parent-in-law"
pa/ma	recuk <u>upa</u>	recuk <u>uma</u>	"orphan"

po/mo	remdipo	remdimo	"adulterer/co-wife"
w/mi	ṇaw	ṇāmi	"old man"woman"
w/me	riw	rime	"sibling's sibling-in-law"
p/m	Dep	Dem	"parent's elder parallel sibling"
ce/ci	samantokce	samantokci	"stunted person"
te/ti	homte	homti	"fat-cheeked infant"
Z/nim	phirpa	phirpanim	"tailor, member of Damai caste"

The final type consists of Nepali -ni + Thulung -m (2.32), and is productive. The preceding two types are almost as certainly of Nepali origin, cf. runce N "tearful" from runu "weep", and antare/antari N "fifth eldest son/daughter"; also lokante/lokanti N "attendant of bridal couple". Of the more characteristically Thulung types probably only ceo/me is productive.

1.2. Vocatives.

The vocative may be expressed simply by additional stress and raised pitch on the final syllable, as in Neothél (name of a mythical character).

Kinship terms take a vocative suffix -a (cf. II 5.3), sometimes with interesting junctural effects:

mam. pap	ma-aa pa-a	"parents"
mim, bep	mima, beba	"grandparents"
wa	wa-a	"elder sibling"
Dep	Dewa	"father's elder brother"
nin	nina	"father's sister"
kuk	kuwa	"mother's brother"

cis "father's younger brother" usually gives cise rather than cisa.

In hailing, the term of address may be preceded by te, as in Nepali. A vocative particlet o (cf. Nepali ho) often follows, even

whens-a has been used, e.g. mimáo.

In plural vocatives the second person particle ni may be used as insa loaknio to a person's younger brothers, or nem hepnio ("house masters") used by a visitor to a house wishing to be invited indoors. In Mukli -nio was pronounced neo, and the relationship to ni was not clear to my informant.

1.3. Compound nouns.

1.31. Co-ordinate compounds and "augmentatives".

Some nouns which often stand alone also form common compounds, e.g. loa "arm" and khel "leg" give loa-khel "limbs" or wa "elder sibling" and loak "younger sibling" give wa-loak "siblings" (commonly in fact confined in meaning to "brothers", perhaps under the influence of Nepali dāju-bhāi).

The more interesting situation is when one member of the pair, typically the second, is not found alone. Thus kuri "wife's natal household (māuli N)" is coupled with a form mada which is never free-standing, to give kuri-mada (māwā-māuli N), which differs from kuri stylistically rather than in denotation. Similarly Diumla "tribal custom (riti N)" often occurs as Diumla-ridium (? influenced by riti-riwāj N). In such cases we may speak of the second element, or, more loosely, of the couple, as being the augmentative of the first element. Augmentatives are particularly common in ceremonial ritual dialogue.

1.32. Subordinate compounds.

Where it appears that rather than being coordinate with each other, one member of a compound is superordinate to the other, the hyphen is omitted: seor "ancestors' fortune" and luṇ "stone" give

seorluŋ "sacred hearth stone", and the nerimakte is a variety of makte "shirt". Again there are some morphemes that are only clearly found in such compounds, e.g. si as in bōsi, pintesi, jēsi etc., all varieties of tree. In the names for varieties of bird, meypu, boTpu, grekpu, etc., as in the word for "bird" itself, cekpu, the final element is probably to be related to the free standing po "chicken". A few similar elements can be recognised, e.g. the siu in gupsiu "tiger", noksiu "monkey", breksiu "ghoral", meosiu "buffalo", but there are many other words ending in -siu where the syllable cannot be identified as belonging to any particular morpheme. The dilemma as to the morphemic status of final syllables is quite a common one, cf. 1.33.

1.33. Reduplicate nouns.

These may be considered a particular type of compound. A minor variety is offered by onomatopoeic bird names, e.g. cukcupo, one whose cry is cuk cuk, and gagakpo AS "crow" (now gāpu).

A more interesting pattern, in that it relates verb and noun roots, is seen in the following:

kekepciu	"burr" (which sticks to clothes); cf. <u>kep-</u> "stick".
kokopco	"wooden hoe";s? cf. <u>kek-</u> "dig".
kakarca	"fish-hook";s? cf. <u>kar-</u> "stretch warp with pointed spring".
peperca	"bamboo tongs"; cf. <u>per-</u> "compress (as with tongs)".
phepeakca	"bow"; cf. <u>pheameomu</u> (probably <u>phea(k)so(k)-</u>) "shoot with bow and arrow".
khukhurca	"scraper, razor"; cf. <u>khur-</u> "scrape, shave" (and <u>khurkanu</u> N "scrape", <u>khauranu</u> N "shave").

The final syllable in some or all of these examples may be related to the words ciu "thorn", ciuciu/caca/ceoca "porcupine quill", but the

suggestion is speculative.

A few nouns with comparable morphology have no plausible relationship to verb roots, e.g. thathaksi "poles at end of loom", khakharba "earthenware bowl".

For simple reduplicated verb stems as in buy phiphi bomu "dispute" (translating Nepali kapāl hāl hāl garnu) cf. III 7.9.

1.4. Bodily and mental states.

Words denoting bodily and mental states are very commonly construed with the 3 S past of liu- "be affected by":

em liūra	"feel sleepy"; cf. ems- "sleep"
ŋim "	"be afraid"; cf. ŋis- or ŋim- "fear"
krium"	"be hungry"; cf. kriumsi(t)- "be hungry"
jem "	"feel like speaking"; cf. jes- "speak"
bhremś	"feel lazy"; cf. bre(t)- or bhre(t)- "be lazy"

The subject of the feelings is usually implicit in the contexts though it may be expressed with a possessive adjective, e.g. a bhrem liūra "I feel lazy", or with a pronoun plus lāi N. Thus apart from the absence of reduplication, the construction is similar to that treated in III 7.91, and the separation is somewhat arbitrary. The present construction may have been influenced by Nepali nindra lāgnu, Dār lāgnu... "to be sleepy, afraid..."; cf. also syo liūra? and nun lāgyo? N "Is it salty enough?".

It may be noted that particular illnesses take the verb bet- not liu-, as in khalambaka beTṛiri "I have a cold" (rugḥā lāgyo N).

1.5. Nepali nouns in Thulung.

As a rule the difference between the Nepali direct and oblique cases is ignored and only the latter is used. I do not know how far

this may be true also of native Nepali speakers in the area.

1.6. Juncture with postpositions.

1.61. With -ka.

The postfix is generally simply added to the stem. If the point had been consistently investigated this might have been a useful means of deciding on the length of vowels in open monosyllables (II 2.22), thus kuka "with water" contrasts clearly with sūka "by the wasp", as sika "with the mouth" does with rīka "by the cross-sibling".

Final labials are optionally assimilated: mam "mother" gives mamka or maṅka jeop "right" gives jeopka or jeokka. There is a good deal of variability: pe "left" gives pēka pepka or pekka ju "wind" gives jūka or jukka. It is difficult to say whether such forms point to the former existence of a final consonant now lost in the free-standing form.

1.62. With other postpositions.

It seems that short open monosyllables regularly take a syllable final retroflex stop before postpositions, e.g. siDDa "in the mouth", kuDDa "in the water", kuTlam "from the water (spring)", muTno "towards the fire". For many words postfixes are semantically inappropriate and cannot be tested, but there appeared to be few if any where this inserted retroflex is incorrect. Thus one finds loāDa or loadDa "in the hand", nēDa or neDDa "in the mind", even māDa or maDDa "in the grain"s although in isolation mā seems definitely to have a long vowel.

Although these postpositions are not a good tool for exploring vowel length, they would probably serve to divide nouns ending in -m into two subclasses: nem "house" gives nebDa and nep-iu, whereas bom

"gourd" gives bomDa. Nouns of the former type should perhaps be regarded as having a basic root ending in the stop which is weakened to a nasal in open juncture. However my two informants differed on the junctural form of jam "rice", and we have been ignoring the question of tone. Thus the point needs further research.

Following liquids -Da is assimilated to -la or -ra.

For an irregular juncture see V 1.33.

2. Adjectives.

When a copula is used, the choice lies between b(a)- and diums-, but the principles governing the choice are not well understood.

2.1. Possessive adjectives.

	1st		2nd	3rd
	incl	excl		
Sing.	a		i (AS e)	u
Dual	aci	aci	ici	uci
Plur.	iki	aki	ini	uni

All of these are optionally followed by ma, after which, in the singular, the possessive may be repeated; so that nem, ama nem, and ama a nem all mean "my house". An archaic hina "thy" has been recorded in a ritual. The form uni has probably been influenced by Nepali uni "they"; AS (pp. 11, 10) gives usko N "his" as uma but inko N "their" as akam (demonstratives + genitival kam)s.

Used with ma, the possessive adjectives can serve as pronouns:

ama nem umaram Dokpu bu
my house his-than large is.

The following expression was recorded but the analysis was not pursued(? cf. III 7.91):

ini rebDa biŋDom

your (sing) to see (purp) I have come

"I have come to see you"

Parts of the body, mental faculties (such as assu yum "magical power") are most naturally cited by informants with the preceding simple third person possessive particle, which in such cases can be regarded almost as an obligatory prefix. Something possessed is typically marked in the same ways

oram miuciukam u nem

this man-of his house

"this man's house".

2.2. Numerical adjectives.

2.21. AS' system.

AS (pp. 31-3) gives a Thulung system for counting up to a hundred million and by extrapolation, indefinitely. As his book is not easily available it may be worth summarising on this matter. The numbers up to nine are ko, ne, sium, ble, no, ra, yet, let, sgu. Ten is kodium, i.e. "one zero", and the series continues kokon, kone... kogu (19), nedium (20), nekon (21). Ninety is therefore gudium. However with the terms konedium "one two zero" for "hundred", kosiudium "one three zero" for "thousand", and so on, the logic of the system changes, for these ought to mean "120" and "130" respectively and it is not clear how the latter could be differently expressed. No Thulung that I met knew how to count in Thulung beyond four (many could only reach three) with the exception of one or two individuals who had learnt AS' system

from his book. It is in fact most unlikely that the higher numbers were ever in current use.

2.22. Counting in twenties.

This was regarded by Turner (s.v. kori) and in the LSI as a characteristic of the Himalayan languages and as evidence for the Austro-Asiatic substratum theory, which is now in disfavour. But the practice continues and in Nepali I not uncommonly heard bisā (rather than kori)s AS (p. 33) gives a table for counting in sen "scores"s but curiously enough in Mukli the word now definitely means "hundred".

2.23. Order of word ..

The numeral used attributively regularly precedes the noun but there is a pair of idioms which suggest that at the time of contact with Nepali the order may have been the reverse:

ghari koṇ "one moment, an instant"

pati koṇ "one pāthi N" (a measure of volume)s Cf. nek pati "two pāthi".

2.24. The suffix -le.

This is regularly added to numerals except when they refer to numbers of occasions or measures of time or quantity. It is always used when numbers are spoken serially in counting. It appears also in khotle or khole "all", and in pherileā "again" (pheri N + le + na)s For some comparable particles that are now either fossilised or obsolete see 6.

2.3. Morphological classes of attributive adjectives.

The same remarks apply to order of words as in 2.23, for the

only adjectives to follow their nouns are birth order terms as in pakancha "father" youngest brother" (kānchā bābu N)s; cf. also talā māthi N for correct Nepali māthillo talo "upper storey".

2.31. In -pa.

Many adjectives are simply verbs bearing this suffix, cf. III 3.56.

khes- "be bitter" gives khepa "bitter"

lis- "be heavy" " lipa "heavy"

jeop- "be beautiful" gives jeopa "beautiful"

ser- "be numerous" " serpa "numerous"

hen- "be sharp" (of blade) gives henpa "sharp"

Sometimes no related verb is current, or the semantic relationship is doubtful, as in bhapa "broad, spacious",s? cf. bhap- "catch one get caught up on".

2.32. The suffix -m.

This forms adjectives from most other parts of speech including verbs, cf. III 7.5.

jiujium "sharp pointed", cf. jiujiu "tip, top"

hem "which", cf. he "what"

makem "of olden times", cf. make "long ago"

halam "situated above", cf. hala "up, above"

dellam (del + Da + -m) "belonging to the village", cf. della "in the village"

The ordinary genitive suffix -kam is related in a similar way to the -ka of associated circumstance (3.4, 4.2)s

A large category. Examples:

The reduplication in the last pair of instances appears not to be optional. As indicated, the reduplicated root can often be recognised in other parts of speech. In colour adjectives the suffix -wa -ya or -yam adds a definite nuance of vagueness as in kekeyam "blackish" lalayam "reddish" rendered by AS respectively as kālo kālo N and rāto rāto N; this does not seem to be the case in the other examples quoted. Perhaps it is the same particle as in the past negative and conditional (III 3.32).

For some further reduplicates see 2.35.

There is no particle corresponding to English un- or Sanskrit
In imitation of Nepali the negative particle is sometimes used
mijeopa "unattractive" (narāmro N) and mibrēpa "tasteless"
(Tho N), e.g. hamko mijeopa mēsem "what a plain woman!".

Hodgson gives dokhon dhiupa (where dhiupa means "long") to translate "short". This dokhon, which is obsolete, is probably related to dokha AS (pp. 20, 107) "thor, thorai N, a little". Comparably sāṅghuro N "narrow" may nowadays be rendered by keti hoāsiTpa "only a bit gaping", and hoco N "short of stature" by keti yepa "only a little upstanding" (cf. II 5.2).

2.35. Miscellaneous.

Rather few adjectives fall into none of the preceding categories, but some of them are commons Dokpu "large", yakke "small".

An element ko, which may be related to the numeral "one", appears in various expressions of quantity:

hamko "how many"

akoti "so much"

akom "such a large"

kokole "one each" as in

kokole laurā jeTmiri "each of them held a stick"

(Cf. the distributive expressions included in II 5.4 and konna "only").

A suffix -ti or -te was recorded in some half dozen adjectives, some of them reduplicates, e.g. plente "flat", phunphunti "fat", renrenti "empty", cf. homte in 1.1.

2.4. Comparative and superlative.

These are expressed with the suffix -Dam (no doubt to be analysed as Da + -m). Examples:

amaram Dokpu "larger than mine"

khotleram Dokpu "larger than all" i.e. "the largest"

3. Adverbs.

The first three categories of adverbs to be discussed have an important place among the expressive resources of the language. They share this predominantly stylistic significance with compound verbs (III 5), augmentatives (1.31), "minor" particles (5.4), and some other reduplicate constructions. Like the ideophones of many African languages, the expressive adverbs seem to be regarded by native speakers as marginal to the language proper.

3.1. Adverbs of abruptness.

More than fifty of these adverbs were collected (AS gives only two s.v. jurukka N). Three quarters are monosyllabic, the remainder disyllabic. Typically there is a one to one relationship between adverbs and verb, so that each verb has only one associated adverb expressing abruptness of the activity, and each adverb applies to only one verb, but there are exceptions in both directions. Examples:
hut- "fly"; phuri hut- "fly off or up abruptly"
thep- "pinch"; cir thep- "pinch sharply"
rek- "shake off"; thi rek- "shake off suddenly"
These adverbs can usually be rendered in Nepali by jhattai. They are listed in Appendix 2.

3.2. Reduplication.

If many adjectives are formed in this way (2.33), even more adverbs are, if indeed a distinction can be drawn between the two categories.

Doksok Doksok "with a waddling gait"

kheasok kheasok "with a lop-sided gait, limping"

greoleop greoleop "rolling over and over"

hibli cobli "like a dreamer or one groping in the dark"

Cf. also

phuyuyu "lightly (of something flying away)"

u ple grilili lukta

his tears copiously have-come-out

"tears are welling up in his eyes"

The reduplication in wakha wakha "quietly" is optional.

3.3. With -maksī.

Examples:

khirimaksi rep- "look round about oneself"

khirimaksi leks- "go round and round (of Ferris wheel)s"

burumaksi applied to someone jumping up angrily, or to dust flying
up in the air.

ju sirimaksi phoDDiu "the breeze blew gently"

sulumaksi cherediunṇuro "I had continuous diarrhoea"

Expressive vocabulary of this sort seems to be very easily coined.

A number of the roots are Nepali, or at least can be found in that

language, cf. khirekhire N "pulley wheel of well", burukka N "with a
jump", sulukka N "smoothly (of swallowing)". It is not clear whether

the final syllable of maksi bears any relationship to the -si of

III 6.4, or to those of hamsi "when (in the future)s" or asi "here".

3.4. Adverbs with -ka.

It is largely because we are operating in traditional categories
that we separate the expressions treated in this section from those
where -ka serves to relate the causer or instrument to a transitive
verb (III 9.22).

3.41. In overt expressions of time.

-ka often renders Nepali -mā:

tin mahināka "in three months' time (starting from past, present or future)".

018 sālka "in the year 2018 BS"

The particle is optional in bastaka "yesterday" & mamthaka "last year"; palika "next year"; but (if it is the same morpheme) obligatory in dīka "tomorrow". Cf. also nem sosoka "at day break" (III 7.92)s

3.42. In expressions of manner or accompanying circumstance.

koalika ems- "to sleep on one's back"

ciunciuka gen- "sit in squatting position" (same as ciunciugen b(e)-).

pāloka "by turns (pālosaṇa N)"

heka or hesaka "how" (cf. -saka in III 3.54)

gulliunṅka mijeopa lu phoTo

it-has-clouded-over + m+ka not-well will-come-out the-photo

"now it has clouded over the photo will come out badly"

After the postfix -lam "from, via", -ka is probably optional, as in jiwdellaṅka "from or via Jubu N village" & or thulunṅ loalaṅka "in Thulung".

3.5. Intensification.

The particle ṇa (5.1) may be used to give additional emphasis to adjectives, though no doubt intonation is the commonest device. The ordinary word for "very" is hapa, which precedes adjectives. It may be the -pa derivative of some verb, but if so the verb has not been recorded. Yet further emphasis may be given by using the form happas the gemination probably being a device borrowed from Nepali.

4. Postpositions.

4.1. The spatial postpositions.

la "up at, up to"

theo "towards"

nu "across to, across at"

Da "at, to" (also forms verbal purposive)

yu "down at, down to"

All of these may take -m to express motion from above, across etc.:

bantheo or bante "whither" thus gives bantheom/bantem "whence".

There is a distinct postfix -lam meaning "from"s which is homonymous with la + -m "from above", but may without awkwardness express motion from below. Both should be distinguished from the -lam (Da + -m following -l) given in 2.32; cf. also -Dam "than" (2.4)s

4.2. Genitive postpositions.

In the third person the possessor is marked with post-fixed kam (cf. 2.32)s the possessed usually (not always) with the possessive adjective: jase kam u loak "Jase's younger brother". The postfix -ku (not found in AS) differs not at all from -kam and may also be used with or without the possessive adjective: jase ku loak or jase ku u loak. In the parental relationship the particle is typically absent: jase mama jase papa. Possibly ku has arisen as a contraction of kam + u under the influence of Nepali ko.

The possessor always precedes the possessed, just as adjectival clauses (III 7.42) always precede the noun they qualify.

4.3. "With and "without".

The postposition nun can often be approximately rendered "together with".

gonuṇ Gane lekcoko or go Ganenuṇ lekcoko

"Ganes and I went"

Bhaginuṇ sem kripcoko

Bhagi-with hair we-cut

"Bhagi and I cut each other's hair"

It is also found in expressions such as the following:

gōjiunuṇma (or gōjiuma) "pregnant"s cf. gōjiu "womb". (For the -ma
cf. 2.1).

u yumnuṇmaka "being a man with magical powers", cf. yum "magical power"

nēle sidimonuṇka "having two pouches"

u yanuṇma "sharp"s cf. ya "blade"

Comparesu ya manthim "blunt" (v. III 7.7).

5. Remaining particles.

5.1. ṇa

This enclitic particle (a) serves (like the Nepali suffix -ai) to add a small measure of emphasis to the word it follows and (b) forms an integral part of a number of morphological constructions. In verbal suffixes we have met it in -tonṇa and saṇa (III 3.53-4), -hoṇṇa (III 7.32) and perhaps -thiṇa (III 7.7). It is regularly added to certain Nepali adjectives used in Thulung, e.g. sajilaṇa "easy", cf. sajilo N. It is an essential element in a number of words such as koṇṇa "only" (cf. ko "one"), kohopmaṇa "the same", heṇa "why".

It does not follow imperatives cf. III 7.84.

Morphological variants of ṇa are noted in II 2.5 and III 1.5.

5.2. Interrogative particles.

In yes-no questions the particle De orsre may be used:

lēna re me lēna re? "Are you going or not?"

bu re mibu (re)? "Is there any or isn't there?"

jeopa re mijeopa go yad miw "Whether it is beautiful or not I don't know".

wō yo ma re? "And what if it rains?" (pāni pārchā ra? N)

This may be the same as Nepali re "used at the end of an interrogative sentence" (Turner s.v.), but must be distinct from the particle in aDe "thus", meoreṇa "just like that" (tesai N), and probably that in he re diusta "what happened?"

Sentence—finally we also find the question markers hi (? cf. ho ki N) and (rarely) mi.

5.3. wo, o.

This particle translates Nepali pani (often given as "also, even") and occurs in similar idioms:

hambo miw (kehi pani chaina)

what-even not-is "there is/it is nothing"

ham biy leo (for las+ wo, cf. V 1.34) niu (jaso gare pani huncha)

"It doesn't matter what one does", "any way will do".

ethao bu? (ahile pani cha?)

"Is there any left?"

meōṇalao (taipani)

"in any case"

5.4. Minor particles.

The distinctive uses of ne (tas tā in Nepali) & cāhĩ N (often unnasalised in Thulung) and De (translated spo N) have not been elucidated.

6. Noun classes in 19th Century Thulung.

In present day Thulungs numerals are in general used either with the particle le (IV 2.24) or without any accompanying particle. Possible exceptions occur in the phrase korthéo "in one direction" (cf. -theo "towards"), in the preference for koŋ miuciu over ko or kole miuciu "one man", and in kōlem nēlem "one or two days" (cf. nem "day"). However it seems clear from a page of Hodgson's notes (89:98) that in his time Thulung countable nouns fell into classes defined by classifier particles associated with numerals. All the following examples come from Hodgson.

6.1. Round objects ("rounds" in Hodgson's notes)s

ko bop miksi	"one eye"
ko bop komai	"one pillow"
ko bop <u>nāraŋgi</u>	"one orange" (and similarly, it is implieds with other fruits)s
ko bop sor	"one grain of rice" (Hodgson writes "so-or" or "swor").
ko bop del	"one village"

The root of the classifier can no doubt be recognised in the ritual expression boplunma ceplunma "round stones and flat stones", and probably also in boprom "small round bell worn by shaman", bopsiu bomu "sit hunched forward with head on knees (so as to form a ball)", theombop AS "heart", cf. theom "bellys interior of trunk".

6.2. Elongated objects.

ko seol betho	"one kukri"
ko seol <u>banduk</u>	"one rifle"
ko seol khel	"one leg"
ko seol loa	"one arm"

ko seol riba "one rope"

ko seol nāraŋgi kam u phu "one orange-tree trunk"

Under "longs" Hodgson also notes "pillarss trunks, handles" without giving the Thulung words. His spelling of the classifier is varied: swēl, shu-elə sēl, suēls swēl and syel; but there can be little doubt that all refer to the same phonemes. The particle appears currently in seolewap bom "a variety of gourd (bom) with a long straight neck".

6.3. Flat objects ("flats")s

ko phe loāblem "one hand"

ko phe phemkhel "one foot"

ko phe nophla "one ear"

phe may in fact be related to -blemə phem- and -phla. AS gives the now obsolescent words phlemkhel "sole" and phlemloa "palm of hand"; cf. also plemplem "flat" and phe "(flat) forehead strap of tump line".

6.4. Other classes.

Hodgson's notes suggest other classifier particles as follows:

- (a) si "mouth", used for "holes and roads" (possibly this is because paths were once holes through the forest)s His example is koŋ silam or koŋ or koŋ lamsi "one road"; it might be relevant that the Thulung still speak of "the mouth of a bridge".
- (b) waŋ used for "hollow circular" objects as insko waŋ cukurim "one finger ring". No cognates have been recognised.
- (c) phu insko phu seŋ "one tree" is given without comments but might imply a class of growing things, cf. the last example in 6.2. This phu may have cognates in the large number of place names

ending in -pus, for in many instances the first element of the name is a variety of tree, e.g. Caspu or Cesapus cf. c̣sa "Schima Wallichii".

6.5. Variability.

According to Hodgson, kole applies to all animals, e.g. kole khlewa "one dog", this being his only example, whereas koŋ (written "kwong") can be applied without additional particle to dog, kukri, eye, hand (loāblem), ear and mouths as well as (in the contemporary manner) to miuciu "man"; but he also gives it with an additional particle in koŋ silam (cf. 6.4) and in koŋ seol khel "one leg" (cf. 6.2)s This variability might be taken as suggesting that even in his time the classifier system was beginning to break down.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER TOPICS - MAINLY DIACHRONIC

The first two sections of the chapter introduce new facts that are part of a synchronic description of the language, but whose main interest lies in their diachronic suggestiveness. The third section is entirely analytical, being an attempt at internal reconstruction sparked off by a hint from a related language.

1. Vowel System

In II 2.1 we listed sets of contrasts in order to establish the phonemic distinctions making up the vowel system of the language. However the distributional characteristics of the different vowels are by no means uniform, and to examine the matter they can be classified into three subsets: the simple vowels i, e, a, o, u; the digraph vowels iu, eo, ea, oa; and the schwa, e.

1.1. The distribution of digraph vowels in verb stems

Although there are a few verb roots which only occur in compounds, the vast majority of Thulung verb roots are monosyllabic. Given the limitations on syllable structure and the limited number of stem types it is easy to draw up matrices containing boxes for the vast majority verb roots that are possible in the language. In an effort to collect vocabulary this was in fact done. Each page in a folder dealt with one initial element, each row with one vowel, and each column with one stem class. I then went through the possibilities with informant G, trying to fill as many boxes as possible. As a means of collecting an exhaustive list of Thlung verbs the procedure was by no means

foolproof. The informant sometimes failed to recognise words which it later transpired that he knew, and for one reason or another (e.g. the additional s of III 4.39) a single box may contain more than one verb. Nevertheless the method brought to light some important regularities in the combinations of vowels with initial elements and stem consonants.

Initial elements can be divided into two groups. (i) The "central" group consists of single consonants articulated centrally and pre-centrally (dentals, retroflex, affricates, sibilant, liquids) and where relevant their aspirates, together with all clusters ending in liquids. (ii) The remainder, the non-central group, comprises labials and their aspirates, velars, semivowels, sh and glottal stop. Apart from the exceptions which are treated below in 2.1, stems can also be divided into two classes, viz. velar (ṅ, sk and ks) stems, and non-velar (all the rest). In the light of these distinctions it proved possible to predict the rows and columns in which the digraph vowels would occur.

Subject to the limitations listed in II 3.1, any combination of initial element, vowel and stem may occur except that:

- (a) Velar stems may not be preceded by iu, eo, e or a.
- (b) Non-velar stems may not be preceded by ea or oa.
- (c) Non-central initials may not be followed by iu or eo.
- (d) Central initials may not be followed by u or o unless the stem is velar.

It may be clearer to express the rules in a more positive form:

- (i) Columns for velar stems contain roots with ea and oa but not with e or a (part of rule a), whereas those for non-velar stems have ese and a but not ea or oa (rule b).

(ii) Pages for non-central initials contain rows with u and o but not with iu and eo (rule c).

(iii) Pages for central initials contain rows with iu and eo and not u and o except where the rows cross the velar columns where they contain boxes with u and o not iu and eo (rules d and a).

It will be clear from these rules that in typical verb stems e and ea, a and oa, u and iu, o and eo are in complementary distribution. This prompts the hypothesis that they were originally allophonic pairs conditioned by their environment, and that only subsequently, with the loss of stem consonants, did they come to gain phonemic status. We may rephrase the rules in diachronic form as follows:

(1) Before velars e and a became diphthongized to ea and oa.

(2) Following central initials u and o became fronted to iu and eo unless "held back" by a following velar.

(3) Where neither condition applied the simple vowels remained.

Outside the verbs, digraph vowels have undoubtedly arisen in Thulung by processes other than those stated in rules (1) and (2). But these other processes are altogether less regular and clear-cut, and it seems doubtful whether by themselves they would have been sufficient to establish the new phonemes (it has already been suggested in II 4.5 that tonal contrasts also first became phonemic in verbs).

1.11. Vowels after clusters with liquids.

According to rule 2 of the last subsection, liquids, even in clusters, should be followed by front rounded vowels except in velar stem verbs. AS gives five verbs contravening this prediction: blunmu "boil", plummu "dip", khlo mu "help", grommu (p. 105) "meet", plumu "undo (kholu N)", (and also the noun khlo mu "moon"). The verb stems

are nowadays respectively st, sm, sV, sm, se, and all of them (and the noun) now have the predicted front rounded vowel. AS himself gives pliumu "undo (khuskāunu N)", kreommu (p.52) "meet" and phleommu "knead", which follow the expected pattern. The facts might perhaps be interpreted as direct if not very forceful evidence in favour of the back rounded to front rounded shift that we have postulated, but it is not clear why they should only concern vowels following clusters with liquids.

1.2. Applicability of the rules of 1.1 outside verb stems.

Although the rules were first formulated for verb stems they have a certain degree of relevance elsewhere. We shall return to some problematic verb stems in 2.13-4.

1.21. Anomalies arising in conjugation.

According to rules 1 and 2 of 1.1 we should not expect to find intrasyllabic sequences such as asseŋ or iuŋ, and in fact they are distinctly rare in the language. However in the conjugation of compound verbs the stem-final consonant of the first element may vary while its vowel remains constant. Thus (in accordance with the rules of III 5.2) khliumeimu "wear shoes" gives 1 S pres khliuŋsiŋu, and bemaimu "make for oneself" gives the corresponding bensiŋu. Similarly, in non-compound verbs khrep gives khrekŋiri "he covered me". The rules applying within stems do not apply to the junction of stem and ending and here too we find some otherwise very rare phoneme sequences as in the 3 S pres of bomu, pomu and velar stem verbs, i.e. biu, piu, goakiu, Duŋiu. Similarly, since first person endings never include digraph vowels they give rise to sequences that would be anomalous in other contexts, e.g. to in 1 S past, orslu in the 1 S pres of sli stems.

1.22. Anomalies arising from juncture in nouns.

Assimilation of k in a non-initial syllable may assimilate the final labial of the preceding one so as to give rare sequences as in cenka from cem "aunt" (cf. IV 1.61). This is probably what has happened in siuŋkhra "wooden mortar", for which AS gives siumkhra, and in lankhra "crossroads", cf. lam "path".

1.23. Feature harmony in nouns.

Only about ten nouns have been recorded in which a front rounded vowel follows a non-central initial (in contravention of rule c). These initials are usually labials as in biurium "navel", phiurium "ginger" or miuciu "man". All the words also have a front rounded vowel in their second syllable, and it seems certain that the rounding in the second syllable has conditioned that in the first. For our third example there is positive evidence in that Hodgson gives the form miciu. Moreover a variable degree of rounding can be detected in the pronunciation of the first vowel of riiciu "sister's son" although the relationship of the word to ri "sister" has for most speakers prevented the process reaching its logical conclusion. Similarly Mukli and AS liciu "Chetri or Brahman" is liuciu in Lokhim. The effect of a vowel in one syllable on that in its predecessor is not limited to nouns cf. piūniu in III 4.36 and the processes postulated in 3.2 below. It is conceivable that a prospective rather than a retrospective effect of the same sort accounts for the rare sequences in the uncommon words reotpheo "dowry vessel" and ceophium "dead man's wings".

As far as the evidence goes, feature harmony in nouns produces front rounded vowels from front unrounded vowels not (as does the process we have postulated for verb stems) from back rounded ones.

1.24. meo.

The demonstrative particle meo "that" and its compounds provide the only example of this sequence. It is never found in AS, who consistently gives me, which may well be the older form. The change could well have been facilitated by fusions such as that seen in AS mehopma "such (testo N)", cf. contemporary meopma. This would constitute yet a third source for the new front rounded phoneme.

1.25. Predictive power of the rules in other contexts.

In this subsection when we refer to "following velars" it is to be taken that they are intrasyllabics; it is not suggested that a velar opening a syllable has any effect on the vowel of the preceding one.

As our rules predict, ea in non-verbals is practically confined to pre-velar positions, and seems in this position never to be replaced by se. In open monosyllables ea sometimes arises as a fast speech variant, e.g. khlea for khlewa "dog", heã for heṇa "why". An exceptional instance where it has arisen as a result of fusion (cf. 1.24) is leãsi "banana", cf. leṇaksi AS.

As for the other digraph vowels, we have mentioned in 1.22 what is almost the only instance of a front rounded vowel preceding a velar, but otherwise the predictive power of the rules in non-verbals is low. In some cases this is because a velar has disappeared without leaving any other trace of its previous existence. An example is choāra "goat" which derives from Nepali cyāṇro (cf. II 2.5) or perhaps from some Tibetan word from which this itself is a loan word (Turner s.v.). But it is certain that this explanation does not always apply (cf. 1.26). It is not uncommon in fact to find a rather than the expected oa before a velar, as in sakterwa "variety of

fungus" or taṇma "wild plantain". Although the predictive power of the rules is small in nouns, they do serve to explain certain forms, for instance diukha "suffering" from dukha N, teopi "hat" from Topi N, Mukli duṅ "liver" as opposed to diuṇa AS, kuliu AS "name of sub-tribe living to NE of Thulung" for the usual kuluṇ.

1.26. Fluctuation between simple and digraph vowels.

There is no doubt that sa and oa can serve to make phonemic distinctions, as in ba "where", boa "pig", and in some contexts, notably verb infinitives, the distinction is clear cut and consistently maintained. In other contexts however there is considerable fluctuation between the two and informants often disagreed over potential minimal pairs. For some rakci "nettle (allo N)" was distinct at segmental level from roakci "say" 2 D past, for another they were pronounced identically. For one, balam "shoulder blade" and balam "wooden hammer" differed in tone (II 4.2), for another the latter was boalam. In spite of the consistent pronunciation of the infinitive as roāmu, there was free fluctuation between rāni and roāni "say" 2 P pres. AS ignores the distinction, and my first assistant also claimed at first that the two were the same. Nepali loan words containing ā are not uncommonly diphthongized in Thulung, e.g. kālo N "black", which is often pronounced koālo.

In contrast, dialectal or other fluctuation between the other simple and corresponding digraph vowels is very rare. That between front rounded and unrounded however is common especially in the non-initial syllables of nouns where their contrastive yield is minimal (cf. also 1.23). No fluctuation has been noted between ea and a except after sy, but there are several examples each between ea and oa.

i and e, iu and eo, u and o.

1.3. The schwas e.

So far this chapter has demonstrated a relationship between four of the five simple vowels and the four digraph vowels. It remains to consider the relationship between the fifth simple vowel and the only remaining member of the vowel system.

1.31. In verb stems.

The relationship between se and si in verb stems is somewhat less obvious than that between the simple and digraph vowels. Although in hindsight it should have been indicated both by theoretical considerations of symmetry and by facts that had long been assembled, it was only clearly recognised during the last revision of this sketch. It was obvious that e was much commoner preceding velars than elsewhere, but it also occurs with every other stem consonant (including zero, i.e. in vowel stems). On the other side, the relative deficiency of i before velars was obscured by the fact that two of the stems in ik are very common, and that the absence of in stems could be explained by the relative rarity of sn stems generally. Table VI shows these facts quantitatively. In section 2 we return to those features of the table that bear more on the history of the stem consonant than of the vowel system. The absolute figures on which the table is based have involved a certain number of more or less arbitrary decisions as to the borderline between polysemy and homonymy and in cases where stem consonants are doubtful, but the proportions must be reasonably representative for the language. The vowels other than i and e fall sharply into the pairs on the left of the table, the first member being the one which in verb stems never precedes a

velar. The column labelled "anom" contains the stems in which the other member of the pair precedes a non-velar and is discussed in 2.14.

Table VI

stem vowel	stem con- sonant											total
	l	r	p	m	t	n	k	ŋ	s	V	anom	
i	12	9	19	16	15	1	9	0	8	11	0	75
e	3	3	2	5	10	3	49	10	8	2	6	63
i/e	8	7	11	11	12	2	28	4	8	7	3	138
e/ea	6	8	10	13	25	2	15	4	8	6	3	128
a/oa	12	13	11	15	14	4	15	1	4	3	9	126
eo/o	11	9	12	8	13	4	18	8	7	6	5	127
iu/u	8	13	15	14	18	4	13	4	4	6	2	105
total	56	60	73	76	99	20	113	26	39	35	27	624

Frequencies of combination of particular stem vowel (or vowels) with particular stem consonant, expressed as a percentage of the total number of stems having that vowel (or those vowels)s. Note that only the row and column of totals give absolute numbers; the particular combinations are percentages of the total for the row.

The argument that e is essentially the prevelar form of i would be strengthened if one could reduce both the number of stems in -ik and the number of stems where e is followed by a non-velar. On close examination both seem possible. Of the verbs in -ik, hik- and yik- both mean "grind (on rotary handmill)" and are not independent roots:

moreover they must be related to yək-, which also means "grind" though I was told that it applied more to pulverising by rubbing one stone back and forth on another. bik- "come" and thik- "be cooked" are anomalous assk verbs in that the vowel in the infinitive is short (III 4.37a). This is also true of hik- "addle" and in any case the forms I recorded make the stem consonant doubtful: poka Di hiyriusor hiktius hista or hikpa bu. The vowel length in the infinitive of kik- "tie knot" was not specially noted. That leaves only phik- "pour".

Of the 63 stems containing e only 26 have non-velar stem consonants. Of the six inst a few more might perhaps with fuller data be moved to the anomalous column (2.14). kher- "parch", ber- "grow" are probably Nepali loans. ems- "sleep" is sometimes ums-, which some informants thought was "better". Apart from those in -t that leaves only khel- "transport", phel- "cut", kep- "thatch", hem- "spread out" and "steal", gen- "sit", hen- "be sharp" and se- "pour".

1.32. In non-verbals.

Non-verbals have not been so thoroughly investigated, but there are certainly many instances where i precedes a velar in the same syllable e.g. gringrinya "welling up", khin "gall bladder", miksi "eye". On the other hand the association of e with velars remains marked. For instance of 45 monosyllables ending in m only the verbal noun em "sleep" contains it, whereas it is present in 4 out of the 11 which end in ŋ (cen "back", ren "horn", sen "wood", nen "name")s. While the fact is strictly outside the limits set to this study it may be noted that the last two have cognates in iŋ in some other Bodic languages.

Alternation between i and e is not common though examples are provided by Lokhim yēpu or yīpu and cemcagrē or cemcakriw "variety of

bird". e is somewhat rare outside initial syllables.

1.33. In anomalous junctures and conjugations.

The only two examples noted with nouns are seŋ "wood"s+ Da as in sēDa lesta "he has gone to collect firewood" and ceŋ "back (of body)" in cēDa and cēlam "behind, later". It might appear here that the "anomaly" should be associated more with the labile velar than with the vowel, but corresponding junctural effects never arise for instance with luŋ "stone" and the following conjugational anomaly is also a function of the vowel. In general all transitive verbs have a 3 S pres in -iu, and the only exceptions are afforded by the mixed stem verbs (2.1) cek- "know" and lek- "take"s which give respectively cē and lē where in the absence of the velar one would expect at least *ceiu and *leiu. Their 3 S past forms cēriu and lēriu show a comparable irregularity, if a less surprising one (III 4.22(11)).

1.34. Relationship to other vowels.

Although in verb stems digraph vowels have originated from corresponding simple vowels, elsewhere they have had different origins (1.2). Similarly only some instances of e have arisen from prevelar i, and other sources are suggested by the following facts. AS hayu "below" is often pronounced heiu or huiu, and las+ wo gives leo (as in IV 5.3). Following w, a and e are sometimes in free variations e.g. wakha or wekha "quietly". Moreover there is often a dialectal alternation between wa or we and ho or hu, as in the following:

wadelme AS "elder brother's wife", hodelmi Mukli

wēmu AS	"enter"	hu(ŋ)-	"
---------	---------	--------	---

we AS	"sesame"	hu	"
-------	----------	----	---

wēmu AS	"bear"	hōmu	"
---------	--------	------	---

wadisi AS	" <u>dudhilo</u> tree"	hodisi	Lokhim
-----------	------------------------	--------	--------

No examples have been found where AS h corresponds to Mukli w, and the equivalents suggest a historical trend (wadelme is certainly the older form, cf. wa "elder brother").

We may also recall here the idiom in which the verb kol- "be large" appears in the form kel- (II 5.2).

1.4. Syllable-final semivowels.

In several instances the existence of variant forms shows that syllable-final w has arisen from the fusion of two syllables:

liwt AS libu "bamboo"

riwsi, AS ribusi "quarrel"

hiwnem, Tingla hibunem "wand"

The process is not confined to the string ibu:

sawkhore, eakhukhore "neighbours" (?cf. sākha N "close relatives, dear friends")

baw "elder brother or son" cf. bābu N

The alternation sobu, sop "variety of bamboo" suggests that the process does not occur after back vowels. In other instances the semivowel is due to a different process, as in ṇaw, ṇawa "old man", or to a borrowingt as in yaw "name of festival" relateable to yām N "season", or saw "blacksmith" cf. sāū N "swarthy".

The majority of instances of syllable-final w appear in verbs (more precisely in the first person parts ofts and V verbs), and this is true to an even greater extent with y (3 S past and 1 incl P pres). If in nouns many such semivowels arise from syllable fusion (when they are not of extraneous origin)t it is tempting to wonder whether the same explanation applies in verbs. But it does not seem profitable to pursue the point without taking a comparative approach.

2. Stem consonants.

2.1. Mixed stems.

For the great majority of verbs the stem consonant can be easily and decisively determined, but there are some in which there are two or more candidates. Either informants disagree regarding forms that are diagnostic of stem consonant, or a single informant uses forms appropriate to one stem consonant in part of the paradigm and those appropriate to another elsewhere; often both sources of doubt are combined. Though the point cannot be proved it seems likely that such verbs did once have an unambiguous stem consonant.

2.11. Mixed labial stems.

With labials the problem only arises very rarely. In hemmu "cut across (a ridge)" informant G was equally ready to accept the paradigms for hep- or for hem- in their entirety. AS' paradigm (pp. 77-9) of Mukli's wap- "scoop up (fluid)" is as for wam- in the present tenses as for wap- in the past.

2.12. Mixed dental stems.

Fluctuation between forms appropriate to sn and t stems seems to arise only in verbs showing the "additional" stem consonant loss of III 4.33. In such instances we treat the nasal as the basic form, and write e.g. ta(n)- "fall" or che(n)- "recognise". This is partly because dental stems are four times as common as nasal ones (Table VI), and it seems more likely that the commoner forms should be swallowing up the rarer ones than vice versa. Additional support comes from consideration of other mixed roots.

2.13. Mixed velar/non-velar stems.

In stems which are definitely velar there never seems to be any doubt as to whether the stem consonant is the stop or the nasal; this can perhaps be related to the fact that whereas dental and labial stops "weaken" to their homorganic nasal in conjugation (III 4.32), this does not happen with velars. A fair number of verbs however waver in their conjugation between forms appropriate to velar stems and those appropriate to either (t) or V stems or both. Here is an example with the verb meaning "arrange ritual objects in front of an officiant". Bracketed forms were regarded by G as acceptable but less natural; unfortunately not all possibilities were tested.

	ŋ endings	t endings	V endings
Pu		not *pleTpu	plew
To		(pletto)	plewto
iu		pleDiu	not *pleiu
Diu	plenDiu or	pleDDiu	(pleyDiu)
iu + wa	pleniuwa or		plēwa (cf. 1.33)

Verbs of this mixed type have not been included in the column labelled "uncertain" in Table IV, but have been treated as having velar stems. This is in part because of the frequent association between e and velars and the tendency for sŋ followingss to drop out (1.3). In addition there are no recorded instances in which verbs having stem vowels which do not normally precede velars (i.e. stems containing e, a, eo, or iu) have any parts which are appropriate to velar stems. On the other hand it is likely that paradigms like that of ple(ŋ)- could be collected for stems containing the vowels that are more regularly associated with velar stems than is e (i.e. the vowels ea, oa, o and u). The only example recorded was jōmu "plough", which usually conjugates

as jo(t)- but gives 1 incl P pres joŋi or joDi. This was an unfortunate example however since the verb no doubt derives from Nepali and is an example of a very rare sort of borrowing (cf. III 6). In other words it would seem that the velar here is an innovation rather than, as we are arguing to be generally the case, a survival.

2.14. Stem consonant uncertain.

In the column of Table VI which is labelled "anomalous", it is as if the process of loss of the velar stem consonant, hypothesised in 2.13, had reached completion. The verbs included in the column show stem vowels typical of velar stems but the endings throughout are appropriate to (t) or V stems, i.e. apart from the stem vowel they give no evidence of velar stem consonant. Thus proāmu "make bundle" gives 1 S pres praw, 1 S past proatto or prawto, 3 S past proaDDiu, 1 incl P pres proaDi. This sort of fluctuation, i.e. between (t) and V paradigms, is rare or non-existent in stems lacking an anomalous vowel, and we know that in compound verbs velars can drop out of the conjugation leaving their mark on the preceding vowel (III 5.24). So perhaps positive evidence of a lost velar would turn up in other dialects or in cognate forms. Naturally until then, in any particular case, the former existence of the velar remains only a suspicion.

2.2. s stems.

This category of verb appears more heterogeneous than any other and several obscurities remain both in data and interpretation. About half the verbs with ts stems maintain a short stem vowel throughout (III 4.57). At least five of these have alternative forms with V stem endings, an alternation which is not shared by any

of those which take the long stem vowel indicated in Table IV. About a fifth of verbs with s stems have vowels appropriate to a following velar and with one or two exceptions all of these are susceptible to stem vowel lengthening. As in 2.44 one could postulate a velar which has now dropped out, and suppose that such verbs formerly had stems in ks or (more particularly, cf. III 4.39) in ṣs; but again the evidence is only suggestive.

Some 70% of s stem verbs take intransitive endings (all those with alternative V stem forms, plus some of those with vowels appropriate to velars take transitive ones). Other stem consonants range between 10% and 30% intransitives. In other words there is a strong tendency for s stem verbs to be intransitive (some examples appear in IV 1.4). The same may be true of verbs where the additional s is an obligatory part of the stem, though the numbers involved are small. The significance of this might lie in the following fact. Verbs compounded with si(t)- (III 5.13) very commonly, perhaps regularly, give abbreviated forms, e.g. from phēsimu "wear":

phēsiDDa	or	phēsta	3 S past
phēsira	or	phēsa	imperative
phēsiri	or	phēsi	1 incl P pres.

The abbreviated forms cited are the same as would be derived from a root phes- "wear", and it may be that some s stem verbs have in fact arisen in this way. However the hypothesis is unlikely to be widely applicable, in particular because there is no evidence for alternations such as between the occurrent phēsi 3 S pres and a hypothetical *phes. Thus at present one can do little more than raise the possibility of a relationship between compounds in -si(t)-, stems in s, and stems with the obligatory additional s of III 4.39.

2.3. Stems in et-.

The commonest single combination of stem vowel and consonant in Table VI is et-, though it is not far ahead of its rivals. A few of these verbs appear to be the transitives or causatives of other verbs:

p(e)-	"eat"	pet-	"give to consume" (khuwāunu N)
b(e)-	"make, do"	bet-	"get done"
bre-	"buy"	bret-	"sell"
si-	"die"	set-	"kill"
rok-	"come indirectly"	ret-	"bring indirectly"
yes-	"make noises shout"	yet-	"summon"

Recalling the association of voiced initial with intransitive, voiceless with transitive (III 2.31), one might also include ghles- "remain over" (intransitive endings) and khlet- (same meaning but transitive endings), perhaps too, although the vowel does not conform to pattern, bik- "come across" and phit- "bring across".

The relationship in Thulung between causative compounds in bet- (III 5.44) and these few stems in et- is comparable to that in Nepali between causatives expressed with lagāunu and verbs ending in -āunu. The phenomenon is inconspicuous and somewhat obscure, but it is worth noting the parallelism between this subsection and the last. Just as there is an association between compounding with si(t)-, s stems and intransitivity, so there is an association between compounding with bet-, t stems and transitivity (cf. also III 4.4). There are however exceptions to the association: ge(t)- "come down" and je(t)- "last" are intransitive.

2.4. Phonetic-semantic resemblances among stems.

A few families of stems can be found where sound and meaning appear related i.e. where there is a tendency towards primary or secondary onomatopoeia:

hok-	"shout loudly"	beaks-	"break on stretching"
huk-	"bark"	eaks-	"break off (maize cob)s break up(of marriage)s"
kruk-	"roar"	geas-	"split open"
ok-	"crow" (of birds)	keak-	"break open"
tuk-	"shout in reply"	pheak-	"break by stretching"
		pleak-	"split" (e.g. wood)
		Cf. also eks- "pull out"s ceks- "break up" (e.g. firewood)s jeks- "break" (intrans)	

As in the last two sections, numerous instances can be found which do not conform to the tendencies noted.

2.5. Diachronic overview of stem consonants.

In view of the number of variant types of conjugation, it may be worth attempting an overall, if somewhat simplified view of the processes that seem to have been operating. In III 4.3 we talked of processes in a formal sense, but we may now formulate them tentatively in a diachronic one.

Liquid and labial stem consonants are relatively stable. Other stem consonants have tended to drop out, generally leaving behind traces in the length and quality of the stem vowel. But (with the exceptions treated in III 4.4), long vowels have tended to be shortened; this has happened for instance in the 1 S pres intrans, in common verbs of motion (III 4.37)s, and regularly in the short form of infinitives (III 3.51)s. Thus the direction of change is towards the

condition of V stems, where the stem consonant is zero and the vowel is never long. The momentum in this direction may perhaps have been increased by the growing use of transitive verb stems borrowed from Nepali, with their V stem character (III 6). However the process has carried few verbs if any all the way to the condition of V or (V) stems; the end point seems rather to be a compromise between the condition of st and V stems. Moreover this is not necessarily the only process that has been affecting the stem consonant; in particular there is the ill-understood question of the effect of transitivity (2.2-3).

3. Structure of the past tense.

According to Hodgson, the past tense in Bahing is formed by adding to the verb base the suffix ta, or before suffixes beginning with vowels, by adding t. In view of the close relationship of the two languages it is worth asking whether a similar morphological process explains the forms of the Thulung past tense. We have seen that the differences between the past tense negative and the present tense are virtually confined to three particulars: the presence of a negative particle, the absence of "weakening" changes characteristic of the present tense, and the suffix wa. (The only remaining difference, the 3 S intrans form, is mentioned below in 3.2). It is therefore a priori not implausible that the differences between past tense positive and present should consist simply of absence of weakening changes and a different suffix. We shall start with the hypothesis that the suffix was formerly to, and consider how plausible are the changes that would have had to occur for it to be responsible for the differences between the endings in the contemporary present and past tenses. My own view is that they are entirely plausible.

3.1. Past tense morpheme represented syllabically.

	pres	past
1 sing intrans	ŋu	ŋuro
1 incl P Aff trans	sa	sara
1 incl S Aff trans	ŋi	ŋiri
3 P	mi	miri

here the differences between the tenses are that intervocalic t has become r (cf. imperative bera from bet-) and that the tense morpheme vowel has changed to the a or i of the present ending.

1 excl P Cs or intrans ku toko

1 excl P Aff trans kimi tiki

Ignoring the sporadic distribution of the number particle mi (cf. III 3.23), the first point is that the tense morpheme precedes; for a comparable reversal of expected order of verbal suffixes cf. cuku and ciki in III 3.24. In the first case the vowel of the personal ending has altered to that of the tense morpheme, in the second the change has been in the opposite direction.

3.2. Past tense morpheme not represented syllabically.

In the 1 excl D Cs or intrans the contrast is pres cuku versus past coko. Here the tense morpheme is not represented syllabically but has left its mark in the difference of vowel.

Ignoring liquid stems with their assimilative properties and the m, s, n, sandsp stems with their unexplained D in the present tenses we may consider the following contrasts:

	pres	past			
3 S trans	iu	Diu, tiu, riu (according to stem)			
1 incl P Cs or intrans	i	Di, ti, ri	"	"	"
3 S intrans	z	Da, ta, ra	"	"	"

In the first two rows we may conjecture earlier past tense forms *iuriu and *iri with subsequent loss of the first vowel, cf. the alternations goakiuwa/goakwa or theriuwa/theDba (III 3.32)s. The third row is interesting in that by analogy with the others it suggests that the 3 S pres intrans originally had the ending a rather than zero; at that time then the 3 S past negative intrans ending in awa would have been entirely regular. Similarly one may suppose that in the 1 S trans the ssand V stem past tense form in wto has preserved the high back vocoidal of the present tense pu, u which has been elided with other stems.

We are left with the instances where the difference of present and past is not apparent in the ending itself, i.e. where the endings are ana, ni or ci. It is perhaps significant that all of these resemble the past tense marker itself in opening with a central obstruent. Here the difference is maintained either by the absence of weakening changes in the stem consonant or vowels or by suprasegmental tense tone (II 4.21).

CHAPTER VI

TEXTS

1. Introduction.

The core of this chapter is formed by the texts themselves which are intended to illustrate the grammar. Introductory discussion is limited to a bare minimum since it has been or will be presented elsewhere from an anthropological rather than a linguistic point of view.

1.1. Collection and selection of texts.

In keeping with the general orientation of my research (I 2.1)s the texts were collected primarily for their anthropological significance rather than for linguistic purposes and out of the total corpus collected I have selected three that I was particularly interested in working on intensively because of their anthropological significance. Two of the texts (henceforth referred to as the straightforward narrative texts) were initially tape-recorded and copies of the recordings could be made available to interested students. The third, the ritual narrative texts was dictated. This may help to explain some of its special difficulties, which are further discussed in 3.41.

1.2. Cultural background.

The texts cannot be fully understood without an examination of their cultural backgrounds which would be out of place in the present context. For the first text, see my article "Shamanism among the Thulung Rai" in J. Hitchcock and R. Jones (eds) Spirit Possession in

the Nepal Himalaya, to be published by Aris and Phillips. The cultural background to the other two texts is being examined in work that is at present in progress.

1.3. Problems of editing.

Stories in Thulung do not seem to have generally recognised titles, so I have devised these for myself. The two longer texts were given me as wholes and the division into episodes and the provision of episode titles is again the work of the editor. The ritual text is a continuous excerpt taken from a somewhat longer whole which was given me as being used at the nagi ritual.

The major problem has been punctuation, and in particular where to put full stops. In the tape-recorded texts the intonational pattern sometimes clearly suggests sentence closure, but in many instances neither it nor the grammatical structure is decisive. This is particularly common when clauses are connected by a lo or a ma, since these can equally well serve to subordinate the first clause to the second or simply to introduce the second. I have not succeeded in achieving complete consistency in regard to certain particles (e.g. ne) which can either be tacked on to the previous word or written as free-standing.

In discussions of the distinction between langue and parole it is sometimes held that the linguist need concern himself only with the former, but in presenting what is on the tape or what was dictated to me I have tried to keep editorial intervention to a minimum. I have rather rarely allowed myself to excise a repetition which I judged stylistically insignificant or irrelevant, e.g. one due to an interruption from the audience. Where a speaker apparently starts off saying one thing and then changes his mind, his first attempt is not

expunged but either segregated in brackets or separated from his second attempt by a dash.

2. Straightforward narrative texts.

2.1. "Baginanda" (from Ph of Mukli, recorded 13.9.70)

baginandakam go thenmu ne mi theTpu, kiki theoteowa loa mātrai

Baginanda+of I to-know not know, a-few hearsay words only

go theTpu. meoram go theowtom jati go seow.

I know. That I have-heard+which as-much I shall-says

baginanda make nokcho bayra. meo nokcho bayram belāka

Baginanda of-old an-officiant was. That officiant he-was+when time+

phlustalo, u mina (dela) Dhol phelmukam lāgi

at he-was-initiated+when, his what's-it drum¹ to-cut+of for-the-sakes

u deutāmim yeDDiulo, u deutāka anu baṇḍel roāmano

his god+etc he-called+when, his god across Bangdel called+across-at

meo Dholku usseṇ goaktiu recha e. hama ottha u Dholemi kole-nele,

that drum+of its wood gave. Then here his drummers one-two,

ṇopceomim khobDiuma, meo Dhol phella lemDi--(uni

assistants he-collected+and, that drum to-cut they-went--(their

bārira) meonom baṇḍileku u bārira recha--

garden+in) across-there+from a-Bangdile+of his garden+in it-turns-out--

phella lemDilos baṇḍileka: hawma phelni mim roamDilo,

to-cut they-went+when, the-Bangdiles: "Why are-you-cutting?# said+when

oram a guruka goaṇDim Dhol phella biktokom

"This my tutelary-spirit has-given-me+which drum to-cut we-have-come"

roakta e baginandaka. hama-thama phelmirimas meo Dhol kimDi.
said Baginanda. Then-later having-cuts that drum they-covered.

Dhol kimDima thama (meo) meonom baṇḍileka

The-drum they-covered+and then across-there+from the-Bagdiles

mat bemDima: oram nokcho hamkokam recha, iki bārira

a-plan made+and: "This officiant how-much+of he-is, our garden+in

seṇ phella bikpa, thama iki nebDa; oram nokcho jem

wood to-cut coming, later our house+in; this officiant perform-seance

beri. jem beri. jem berima mārikana yalsi.

lets-make. Perform-seance let's-make+and murderously lets-beat."

roamDi e ma, thama Dhol kīmu diummirimimpachi.² lu

They-said and, later the-drum to-cover they-finished+after. "Well

(akima) ama nebDa gana cintā me besaka lekxi mi niu.

(our) my house+in you a-seance not having-made to-go not it-is-well",

bemDima thunemDi recha; thunemDima thama gumika

they-said+and stopped-him-going; stopped-him-going+and then they

mat bemDima: meoram nokchomim meo lekpa miuciumimlāi--

a-plan made: that officiant+etc those who-had-gone-with-him men+to--

puwaṇku seo reTmirima, bantheom seTmirima

a-puwang-bird+of meat they-brought+and, somewhere+from having-killed

reTmirima--oram goaki roābemDima, (gumika) gumika sallāh bemDi;

they-brought+and--this let's give" saying+and, they a-plan made;

meokotima thama meo puwaṅku seo khomDima, puwaṅku seozuṅ
then later that puwang meat they-cooked+and, puwang meat+with
jamnuṅ goamDi; goamDilo baginandaka roakta e--basiyã u yuṅka
rice+with gave; they-gave+when Baginanda said--already his magical-
loasleDDiuma, baginandaka roakta e: oram guy puwaṅku seo
power+with he-had-seen+and, B. said: "This to-us puwang meat they-
goaksaDDami, mi pimim³ seo goaksaDDami; pepa linsiTnima
have-given-us, not one-eats meat have-given-us; to-eat pretend+and
ama a bhāgDa o puwaṅku seo cāhĩ phīni hai, roaktam bayra recha e ma,
my portion+into this puwang meat pour", said he-had and,
thama pepa limsimDima, uma bhāgDa jammā bemsamDi. khole
later to-eat they-pretended+and, his portion+in all they-put. All
uma bhāgDa bemsamDi; ma thama, pepa limsimDi, (u miksi)
his portion+in they-put; and then, to-eat they-pretended, (his eyes)
kholekam miksi chaliuthaDDiu, baginandaka, pepa limsimDi
everyone+of the-eyes he-distracted, did-Baginanda, to-eat pretended
yaṅka; meokotima (meoram cāhĩ) meo puwaṅku seo jāgiūriuma, jiūdo
the-others; then that puwang meat he-resurrected+and, living
baniūriuma thoktiu recha e. thoktiu recha e, thama (oram go) oram
made+and sewed-together (??stamped-ground)s Then "This
ṇōsi beTpu; o puwaṅ go ṇōsi beTpuma ani guy
to-arise I-shall-make; this puwang I to-arise shall-make+and then us

yalsami recha, o puwaṇ go ṇōsi beTpuma thama "puwaṇ"
they-will-beat, this puwang I to-arise having-made then "puwang"

roa ma, hunmim belāka go "haha" roakto, oram
it-will-say and, it-will-fly the-time+at I "haha" saying, this

khatto lekpu; gani duipaTTim Dholla censiTni wo, roakta e.
pursuing I-shall-drive; you from-both-sides drum+onto hang", he-said.

hamane thamane pomu diummirimpachi cintā bayra bayra;⁴

Then later eating they-finished+after the-seance got-under-way;

cintā bayrampachi ne thamane hanulam atheolam meogoram
the-seance started+after then beyond+from this+side+from therein+of

miuciu khomeimDima, kokole laurā jeTmirima, yalmukam
the-men crowded+and, one-each a-stick gripped+and, beating+of for-

lāgi tayār bameimDilone, basi puwaṇku seo goamDima
the-sake ready were+while, already puwang meat they-had-given+and

puwaṇ jāgiūriumaṣ "puwaṇṣ" roaktalone, baginandaka "haha"
the-puwang he-reeurrected+and, "puwang" it-said+when, B. "haha"

roaktama khatto pakhanu phleo lukta. meomlo Desmeo baginanda
said+and pursuing outside+to suddenly excited. Then that Baginanda

yalmukam lāgi meogonum miuciuka laurā jeTmirima
to-beat in-order that-village+from the-men their-sticks gripped+and

baginanda khaTmirilone huDDama--huDDama, ala geDDa. geDDama
B. they-pursued+while he-flew--he-flew+and, up came. He-came-up+and

meo belāka u Dholemiṇka hanulam atheolam (delara cem-) meo Dholla
that time+at his assistants on-that-side on-this-side that drum+on

(cemsimDima) cemsimDilo, meo Dholka huDDiuma, hala mina gemDi e,
hung+while, that drum flew-them+and, up-to what's-it they-came-up,

o... go plawto, o... rawa kholā atheohumbu,
this (pauses) I have-forgotten, this... Rawa river on-this-bank-of,

msoram cāhī plawto go, hamsiuma roāma jaggāra gemDi recha e; ma
that have-forgotten I, what's-it called place+to they-came-up; and

mela De Dhyāṇgrā jesta e.⁵ mela khatto gemDilone, pheri
there+up the-drum sounded. Up-there pursuing they-came-up+when, next

o birajurara gemDi e; huTmirima birajura gemDi e,
this Birajura+to they-came-up; they-flew+and Biraju+to⁶ came-ups

biraju gemDimpachi ne gumika--meono mina pharkediummiri,
Biraju they-came-up+after they--across-to what's-it they-returned,

gumi o lemDima, birajunum huDDiuma
theys(? the-others) also went-on+and, across-to-Biraju it (?he) flew-

u Dholnuṇ, u minanuṇ, u ṇopceonuṇasinDa
them+and his drum+withs his what's-it+with, his assistants+with here

nebDa phiDDiumas asinDa cintā biūriu e. ma meoramka, meo baginandaka
home+to he-brought+and, here a-seance he-made. And that-one, that B.

yubDium, ottha, baginandaka kāsā yubDiu, tābāmi yubDiu, khole kāsā
worked, here, B. bell-metal worked, copper+etc workeds all bell-metal

yubDium, meo sakhleiu kole jhyāli bu, baginandaka yubDium;
worked, that Sakhle+down-at one pair-of-cymbals there-is, B. worked+

seṅkaṇṇa mina biūriu--Dhol seṅkaṇṇa yubDium
which; wood+from what's-it he-made--the-drum wood+from he-made+which

bu, (a) minamim lip o, baginandaka u
there-is, and-what-are-the-other-things the-pot also, B. his magic-

yuṇka yubDium bu, kole seolewap bom
power+with worked+which is-theres one long-straight-variety-of gourd

wo yubDium bu. ma, guku aba ceocceo-manceoka--gumika
also he-worked+which is-there. Well, we now little-children--them

makem purkhāmika u ceomika ciusiumiṇka roamDim go theowtom ne,
of-old the-ancestors his children and-grandchildren speaking I heard,

theowtom, ani lipnuṇ, bom, jhyāli ne go atāku miksika
I-heard, and the-pot+withs the-gourd, the-cymbals I my+own eyes+with

lawtomṣ athambili o bu.
have-seen, nowadays still they-exist.

go akotiṇa theowtom cāhī, akotiṇa cektoṇa.
I this+much have-heard, this+much have-learned.

2.11. Footnotes.

1. Both here and on p. 144 the speaker first uses the Thulung name for this variety of drum (dela) and then corrects himself and uses the Nepali name (Dhol)s
2. The commentator confirmed that this is a slip of the tongue for diummirimpachi, which occurs on p. 143.
3. I expected mi piyim, which would be acceptable.

4. The repetition is deliberate and no doubt emphasises the gradual and lengthy progress of the seance--seances even nowadays often last from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.

5. The speaker is inconsistent in using the term Dhyāṅgrā since it refers to a different kind of drum from a Dhol. The commentator heard jesta "broke"s but jesta seems preferable.

6. This second occurrence of the name is ambiguous but it is clear from the other occurrences that the speaker changes from Birajura to Biraju in the course of a few lines. The change is clearly related to the fact that the final ra can be interpreted either as part of a name or as a postposition. However it may have been facilitated by the fact that Thulung tends to reduce reduplicated final syllables, as witness the absence of -mimi or -cici and the rarity of -nini in verb endings in spite of motivation by analogy with the rest of the conjugation. Thus Birajura is probably the correct name.

2.12. Fluent translation.

Baginanda was an officiant of long ago. During his initiatory period when he needed to make his drums he called his gods or spirits and his god gave him the tree for his drum across (the Dudh Kosi river) at the place called Bangdel. He collected a couple of assistants from this village and they went off to make the drum. The tree turned out to be in the garden of one of the local Bangdiles who asked them what they were up to. "This is the tree my tutelary spirit has given me for a drum; that's why we have come to cut it", said Baginanda. So they made the drum and covered the ends with hide. Meanwhile the Bangdiles made a plan. "How good is he, this

officiant who comes and cuts trees in our garden? Next thing it will be our house. We'll get him to hold a seance, and then we'll give him a thorough beating." So after the drum was covered, one of them said: "You mustn't leave without performing a seance in my house." They stopped him from going and made a further plan. Somewhere they got hold of a puwang (onomatopoeic name for a sort of owl koirālo N) and arranged to serve it up to the officiant and his friends. So they cooked the bird and gave it them with their meal. But by means of his magical powers, Baginanda had already seen through them. "They are giving us puwang, a kind of meat that is not to be eaten. Just pretend to be eating it, and in fact pour it onto my plate." The assistants followed the instructions he had given, and while Baginanda kept everyone's eyes distracted they just pretended to eat. Then he brought the bird to life, knitting together the pieces of meat. (Narrator returns to Baginanda's instructions). "When I bring the puwang to life they will try and attack us. The bird will cry 'puwang' and fly in the air. I'll shout 'haha' and go off in pursuit. You hang on to the drum on either side."

After the meal when the seance was in progress, the local people crowded in on all sides, each holding a stick and ready to attack. Then Baginanda brought to life the puwang he had been given as meat. The bird cried "puwang", and with a loud "haha!" Baginanda was off after it. In a flash he was out of the house. The angry villagers with their sticks chased after him, but he flew off to the north. His assistants hung on either side of the drum, which flew them up to--I forget the name of the place, this side of the river Rawas where the drum sounded (?broke). Continuing northwards, they reached Birajura where their pursuers turned back. On they went, and Baginanda brought his drum and assistants home and held a seance. He worked

copper and bell-metals and down at Sakhle, here in Mukli, are the cymbals he made. So is the wooden drum and the earthenware pot that he wrought with his magical powers and also his long, straight gourd. When we were children, I heard the old men his descendents telling of Baginanda, and the pot, the gourd and the cymbals I have seen with my own eyes--they are still in existence today.

2.2. "Episodes from Thulung history".

This text was recorded from DB of Mukli on 22.3.70.

Competition for RaThongma

ra aghi (unadinmā) unadinka ramli rājā bayras ramli rājā

And previously in-older-times Ramli the-king was, and-Ramli the-king

wayecapciu-lunara lalera lesta recha.¹ leetalo dherai serpa--
Wayecapciu-Luna+to courting+on went. He-went+when very numerous--

wayecapciu kam kole u ceo--dherai serpa keTā bibDa
Wayecapciu of one his child--very numerous young-men to-ask-for-her

romDi. romDilo meosi pināka klesta lesta, ramli,s
came. They-came+when there oil-dregs+with smeared-himself went, did-

yanmi keTā romDi kindari diummirima;² akheri u
Ramli, the-other young-men came decorated-themselves+and; finally his

yunka Dhākiuriulo; khāli ramli cahī makaiDeoma
magic-power+with he-succeeded+when; only to-Ramli maize+meal dried-

gundrukke goamDi, yanmi keTā seo-jam goamDi.
vegetable+sauce they-gave, to-the-other young-men meat-rice they-gave.

ani yaṇmi keTāka pemDim (seo-jam) seo kam usser ramlika Deotto
Then the-other young-men ate+which meat of its bones Ramli picking-up

sidimo gōnu phikto biūriu. meosinDamma keTiku (pak) mam-pakka:
bag within putting-in he-did. Then the-girl+of the-mother-and-father:

lu hala ne, siuka dherai bhāsme himni, meōṇa
"Listen! this-being-so, who very-much forest of-you-cuts, to-that-one

goānini, roaktama bācā biūriu.³ biūriumpachi yaṇmi
of-you-I-shall-give" he-said+and promise made. He-made+after the-other

keTā honpa kho goaktiumi, yaṇmi keTā cahī, ramli
young-men sharp axes he-gave+them, to-the-other young-men, to-Ramli

cahī kho kam u ya seDDiuma goaktiu.s goaktiumpachi bhāsme
however an-axe of its edge he-killed+and gave. He-gave+after forest

hibDa leṁDi. leṁDima ramlika rokomaluṇDa kho
to-cut they-went. They-went+and Ramli a-rough-stone+on the-axe

sebDiu. meosinDamma leṣtama ramlika cahī jati jangalDam
sharpened. Then he-went+and Ramli as-much jungle+in+which large-

kubi-deksa rukh-pāt ādhā-ādhā phella phelto phelto phelto
trees and-other-trees half-half cutting cutting cutting cutting he-

leṣta. leṣta. meosinDamma DāDā leṣtama u yuṇka ṣayla
went...Then to-the-ridge he-went+and his magic-power+with whistling

biūrium belāka blōjiu rokta. (blōjiu roktama) blōjiu roktam belāka
he-made+which time+at a-storm-wind came. The-wind came+which time+at

meo ādhā-ādhā phellium rukh-pāt jammā swāhā phiktiu,
those half-half he-had-cut+which trees all in-destruction he-poured,

ekrāje hibDiu. kindaritkeTāmika dinbhārika kole rukh
terrifically he-had-cut-down. The-dressed-up youths all-day one tree

mi carmiwa. meosinDamma akheri bācāra ghloasta ramli, ramli
not felled. Then finally the-promise+in conquered Ramli, Ramli

ghloasta; ghloastalone pheri he bomu? meosinDamma aba meo keTiku
conquered; he-had-won+when again what to-do? next now that girl+of

mam-pakka: lu, uhenka o le mālāku u mim bhāle-pothi
the-parents: "listen, he-who this le necklace+of its seed male-female

ciumni, meōṇa goānini roaktam bācā biūriu.⁴
captures, to-that-one of-you-I-shall-give-her" he-said+which promise he-

lone meo (ram--) le mālā kam u bhāle-pothi bakhop, u nebDa ne.
made. Then that le necklace of its male-female lodging. its house+in,

khlewa benthoakma bayra. lo meo yaṇmika pemDim uni ser
a-dog tied-up stayed. Then those the-others ate+which their bones

Deoiuriuma u sidimo gōnu phiktium bayra. meotthamma meoram ramli
he-had-picked-up+and his bag within put he-had. Then that Ramli

lestama khlewa ser buksaDDiu ma serra
went+and for-the-dog the-bones poured-in-a-pile and the-bones+at

bhulediustalo sāṅlā Disoktiu. meosinDamma (ramli kam--kere) bācābātā
it-was-distracted+while the-chain he-undid. Then the-promise+according-

meo le mālā kam u bhāle-pothi ciumDiu. ciumDiumpachi akheri bācāra
to that le necklace of its male-female he-captured...Finally the-promise+

ghloastalo (wayeka) wayecapciu-luna kam u rī ghloastama kheDDiu.
in he-won+when Wayecapciu-Luna of his girl he-won+and brought-uphill.

kheDDiumpachi net asinda ne--ṇaddo ne meo ramli ne pināka klestama
He-brought+aftert here--previously that Ramli oil-dregs+with smeared-

bepileakpa bayrat asi geccilone u darbārramma
himself+and ugly wast here the-two-came-up+when his palace+in+which+the-
pāderosamma paisa ochemma, seolsibDa lēkhom, lamdiu.
one (?) the-spring+up-to coins were-spread, to-wash go-placet the-path.

ani asi geccima seolstalone piuri hop bepa
And here they-came-up+and he-washed-himeelf+when a-ball-of-wool like
recha.
he-was.

Rupture of intermarriage with Bahing

meoDDammane akheri meo ramlika kheDDium u nayme ne saDDamat
Then finally that Ramli had-brought-up+which his wife grew-thin+and
tāsā diusta. diustalo pheri u naymeka ramli ne he biūriut
weak became. She-became+when again his wife to-Ramli what she-did:

lu, lekṣa, ayu, a (mam-pa) rī-pakkaiu ama a pomu-kurā bu,
"Listen, go, down-south, my natal-home+at+down my eating-stuff is,

khera biūriuma thiurstiu. lone lesta ramlio pheri u
bring-it-up" she-said+and sent-him. Then went Ramli+also again his

sāsu-sasurākaiu lesta. lestama: lu, (ini rīka ceokane) ini rī ne
parents-in-law+at+down-to went. He-went+and: "Listen, your sister

ceo ne saTleadDa ma a pomu-kurā meoiu bu thiurnirim
your-child has-grown-thin and 'My eating-stuff there+down is' sent-me

roaktama, ⁵ u sāsu-sasurā mim biūriu. lone lau taba roamDima
she-said+anda to-his in-laws etc he-said. Then "Right then" they-said+

pheri meoiulaṅka o bem, ko Dhungro bem
and again there+down+from these slugs, one bamboo-tube of-slugs

māthemmas ko Dhungro bem cakhlit meoiulaṅka bemsamDima: lu
seasoneda one tube of-slugs rawa there+down+from prepared+andt "Listen

oram lamdira mi repsaka lērama goaka hai, bemsomDi u sāsu-sasurāka
this the-road+on not looking-at take+and give-her" said his in-laws

ramli ne. meoDDamma geDDama: e bābāt lamdira ma hepman
to-Ramli. Then he-came-up+and: "Good-gracious, the-road+on but what-

go repsi mi niupa roaktama, lamdira hoaktiuma
sort-of-thing I to-look-at not ought?!", on-the-way he-opened+and

rebDiulonet bem De. e wayecapciu-luna hopma De
looked+when, slugs it-was. "So Wayecapciu-Luna of-such-a-sort are"

roakta. meosinda geDDama (koThā) darbār koThā gōnu jiulliu.
he-said. Then he-came-up+and a-palace room inside he-put-it.

meotthamma: lahait i mam-pakka rī-pakka thiursaTnamim i pomu meno bu
Then: "Hey, your relatives have-sent-you+which your food there is

pe haia biūriu. meotthane huṅDamane u naymeka ne meo banemma
eat I-tell-you" he-said. Then she-entered+and his wife that prepared-

māthemma ne piūriu. (piūriuhone) piūriu piūriuhonṅa lamcakara
stuff and-seasoned-stuff ate. She-ate ate+while the-front-door+in

dahilora ghroaDDa. ba Dokpu diusleaDDa. ghroaDDa. meopachi
door+in she-got-stuck. I-mean large she-had-become...Thereafter

ceṇḍa ramlika: e gana luna-wayenuṇ ne lale (bom basi) me bom basiTpa
later Ramli: "Well you Luna-Waye+with courting not to-make right

recha roakta. meosinDamma, lskcis lu halas nin-kukkaiu
it-is" he-said. Then, the-two-went: "Listen then, in-laws+at+down-to

lēci biūriumane lskci. lskcihoṇṇa solu pār
let-us-both-go" he-saidaand they-went. They-went+while Solu across

kharbār roāmano kole cautārā bayra. meoram cautārāra ne
Kharbar called+across-at a resting-place there was. That place+at

ṇesinci roakta. ṇesiccimane, u nayme ne ramlika ne: ba
"Let's rest" he-said. They-rested+and, to-his wife Ramli: "Perhaps

i ser remsani biūriu naymé, i ser remsani biūriu.⁶ mane u
your lice I-shall-look-for-you" saida "O-wife...". And his

philāra u nayme kam u buy jiulliuma ser keaksaDDiu.
thigh+on his wife of her head he-put+and lice cracked-open-for-her.

ser keaktiulone masakka smsleaDDa, u nayme; wakhā wakha
Lice he-cracked-open+while fast fell-asleep, his wife; very gently

ayu koaiu jiulliuma u nayme meo cautārā parjeolliu.⁷
down the-earth+down-on he-put+and his wife that resting-place-at left.

ani ramli biktama ciurkui sāgo luktas ciurku dobhānyu
Then Ramli came+and Ciurku+down-at the-bridge came-acrosss Ciurku con-

sāgo siDDa: gana wayenuṇ lunanuṇ a santānka
fluence+down-at bridge mouth+at: "You Waye+with Luna+with my descendents+

lale me diumniu hai roaktama luṇ khlīriuma athso
courting not let-there-be" he-said+and a-stone planted+and now+even

bu. atheo bu. (meomma) meomma guku lunanuṭ thulunūṭ akima seor
it-is-there... Therefore for-us Luna+and Thulung+between our line-of-

mibu. akima seor mi BaṬpa roa.

continuity not-is. "Our line-of-continuity not is" it-says.

Introduction of salt

meosinDamma geDDa. geDDampachi akheri--meokothisamma o yo

Then he-came-up. He-came-up+after finally--then+until this salt

pomu mi bayawaa yo pomu mi bayawa. ala luwalelam mapa rājā ala māndre
eating not existed... Up-north Luwale+from Mapa the-king up Mandre

bhirla aikārra lesta recha. lesta, lama-phul phajira biūriuma
cliff+up-at hunting went. He-went, his-meal-flour a-bag+in put+and

leestama, māndre bhirla u bāskhomDa jiullius sikārra leesta.
went-off+and, Mandre cliff+up-at his lodging+at he-lefts hunting went.

lone cewa mim yomDima, yo ku roDā u phajira phimDi.
Then Sherpas etc came-down+and, salt of small-lumps his bag+in put.

u lama khanemleamDi; bebDa rebDa akheri dikdār diustamas
his meal emptied-out; doing looking-at-it finally vexed he-became+and.

e bābā; pheri yoktama⁸ lēriu lama, mane (meo topā) u lama ku topā
alas; again he-came-down+and took the-flours and his meal of the-bag

lēariumaa māndre bhirla pheri jiulliu. anep ne siu o, a lama
took+anda Mandre cliff+up-at again left-it. "Today who-is thiss my meal

lekpaṇa o luṇ phikpa roaktama, rukhlā huṇDama
taking these stones putting-in" he-said+and a-tree+up-into entered+and

dhanu-kāD khiciuriuma bayra. meo nem wo pheri cewa yomDima,
bow-arrow drew+and waited. That day also again the-Serpas came-down+

cewaka u lama khanemDi, roDā u phajira phimsamDi.
and, the-Sherpas his meal emptied-out, the-lumps his bag+into poured.

lone halalam dhanu-kāD Dinmu khabDium belāka, chāyā
Then above+from bow-arrow to-let-go he-began+which time+at, hie-shadow

loamDima cewaka: aiu yoka, bābā, aiu yoka, mit
they-saw+and the-Sherpas: "Down come, good-sir, down come, ritual-

lāebiy, o aki rī lōra bemDi recha.⁹ ma
brotherhood let-us-make, these our unmarried-women take" they-said. But

ham seomi roaktama yokta. yoktamppachi ne, ma ham roāmi
what are they saying?' he-said+and came-down..."But what are-they-saying?

roaktalo, yo khreTmiri, gumika o pemDi, gu o goamDi;
he-said+while, the-salt they-bit, themselves also ate, to-him also gave;

kuDDa khomDima cewaka gumika hopmiri, mapa o hom
water+in cooked+and the-Sherpas themselves drank, Mapa also likewise

beTmiri. hom beTmirimppachi u rī o goamsomDi, u rī goamDi.
they-made-to-do...Their unmarried-women also they-gave...

goamDimppachi meo mapanu--ceāmoku neṇ khamema.
They-gave+after that Mapa+with--the-Sherpa+girl+of the-name was-Khamema.

meonuṇ ne hiūdai-hiūdo yokci ayu, barkhā-barkhāka lekci (ca)
Her+with each-winter the-two-came-down, each monsoon the-two-went

cewadel mela.
to-the-Sherpa+settlements there+up.

Foundation of the bhume rites

ceṇDa o mapa rājā jonka beDDiu; jonka beDDiūmane u naymenuṇ u
Later this Mapa the-king leprosy afflicted;...his wife+and his

sālānuṇka kurcima, o rātnaṇḡi--ba hala
wife's-younger-brother+together carried-him+and, this Ratnangi--up-at

hamsiūma roāmala re ṇesicci recha. ṇesiccilone mapa ne silā
what's-it-called+up-at they-rested. They-rested+while Mapa a-stone

diusta recha. silā diusta. meosinDammāne u naymekā phektiu mi bekawa,
became...Then his wife raised-him but-not he-rose-up.

u sālāka phektiu mi bekawa--tin bhāi u
his brother-in-law raised-him but-not he-rose-up--three brothers his

ceomi rechas mapa kam. mane kānchā caḡi u ceo ṇima goaktiu
children were, Mapa of. And to-the-youngest his son dreams he-gave

sema goaktiu kurwa goaktiu; samacār thiurstiūma¹⁰
visionary-powers he-gave ritual-knowledge he-gave; news he-sent+and

u jeThā lesta mi bekawa, u mahilā lesta mi bekawa,
his eldest went but-not he-rose-ups hie middle-son went but-not he-rose-

u kānchā re--ṇima-sema goaktiūma
up, his youngest-son however--visionary-powers he-had-given-him+and

kurwa o goaktiūma--u mam Diu khobeDDiu; misi
ritual-skill also had-given+and--his mother beer he-made-to-cook; then

sāteuTa bom, (sāt thapanā) sāt Taparā, jepser, kherma lēriu; kurwa
seven gourds, seven leaf-plates, wheat, parched-grain he-took; ritual

batto lestamas cekpa bhāle grokpunuṇ;¹¹ belsi-phiurium
performing he-went+and, an-old male cock+with; cimphin-and-ginger and-

cokhobom mokto lestama bomka koDDiu. ani meo bhāle
pure+gourd using went+and the-gourd+from splashed-him. Then that cock

u si cerriuma, u pap jharriumpachi u pap hu
its mouth he-split+and, his father he-sprinkled+after his father at-once

bekta. bektamane, pheri kurmirima seoTmiri rechat salabesila.
rose-up...Again they-carried-him+and brought-him-down Salabesi+to-up-at.

salabesila seoTmirimpachi u sālānuṇ u naymenuṇ meolaṇa parjeolliuci.
...His brother-in-law+and his wife+together there+up he-left-them.

meo u kānchā ceoka--impi rāi kurṇi, do lēcī biūriu;
That his youngest-son--"Young Rai carry-me, right let's-go" he said;

yokcima yalila bacci recha. yalila hāwāka me
The-two-of-them-came-down+and Yali+up-at stayed. Yali+at the-wind not

goakwa. pheri yokcit saseno yokci recha. saseno
allowed-them. Again they-came-down Sase+to-across-at came-down. Sase+

baccilo siupelka bumu me goakwa e, meottha ne. yokci
at they-stayed+while the-gnats to-stay not allowed, there. They-came-

ano sakhle baTpara. sakhle baTpara yokcilo kole luṇ
down across Sakhle being-situated+to-where...they-came-down+when a stone

recha; meoram luṇ guci yokcilo meo (luṇ ne) luṇka ne pi
there-was; that stone they-two came-down+when that stone suddenly

khlostama Thāū DisaDDiucima, meosinda bacci recha.
turned-round+and the-place allowed-them-to-leave+and there they-stayed.

baccilone mapa kam kole budā-aūThi alsta.¹² budā-aūThi alstampachi
They-stayed+while Mapa of one thumb fell-off. The-thumb fell-off+after

me niuyawat do impi rāi kurṇi biūriuma dewsa
not it-was-well: "Right young Rai, carry-me-on" he-said+and Dewsa

rindapula bikci, ṇesicci; meotthao tosikhom
Rindapu+to-up-at they-came-across, and-rested; there+also a-bhume+eite

presta--anuna o buDā-aũThi alstamDao tosikhom
was-founded--across this thumb had-fallen+where+also the-bhume-site

sakhle presta, pheri dewsa rindapula ṇesiccimDa
of-Sakhle was-founded, and-again Dewsa Rindapu+up-at they-rested+where

kole tosikhom presta. amrala ṇeeicci, meosinDa tosikhom
a bhume+site was-founded. Amras+up-at they-rested, there a-bhume+site

presta. meottham lekcimane luwalela ləkci recha; meolao
was-founded. Thence they-went+and Luwale+up-to they-went; there+up+also

tosikhom presta. meottham rapcala letkcima: impi rāi
a-bhume-site was founded. Thence Rapca+up-to they-went+and: "Young Rai

lu gana bhānsā pe, go me pew roakta; seṇ mala
listen, you a-meal eat, I not shall-eat" he-said; "Firewood seek"

biūriuma, ubhal hiktiuma gejeolliuma
he-said+and, across-the-hillside he-turned-him+and set-him-down+and

seṇ malla lesta. roktalone misiṇa silā diustama
wood to-see went. He-came-back+when there a-stone he-had-become+and

deutā diusta recha. ma meomlone rapcaka ṇaddo bomka konmu
a-god he-was. And then on-Rapca first a-gourd+from to-splash-him

basiTpa bayra, pujem parne thiyo, tara phuleli
incumbent it-was, to-worship it-ought-to have-been, but the-Phuleli-

yomDi--ṇaddo phulelika koTmiriṇka, phuleli
people came-down--first the-Phuleli-people splashed+becauseṣ Phuleli

kam hak bu etha. rṣpcalam sakhle bomulāi phuleli
of the-right it-is now. Rapca+up-at+which Sakhle making+for Phuleli

kam hak manthi yaṇka bomu me loāsi.
of the-authority without we-others to-make not we-receive.

Dispute with the Khaling

ek ra pheri make meo ceyaka yo goamDiṇka, pheri mapaka
Once and again of-old those Sherpas salt gave+because, again Mapa

yo seoDDiuma yo pemDi; ramli kam yo mi bayawa. ramlika
the-salt brought-down+and salt they-ate; Ramli of salt not was. Ramli

u yuṇka thāhā loastiuma Dhākar biūriuma
his magic+by knowledge received+and a-large-basket made-ready+and

Dhākre thiurstiu. mapaka u loa kriptō thiurto biūriu. lone ramlika--
a-porter sent. Mapa his hand cutting-off sending-back did. Then Ramli--

u chokcho bekta recha: e mapā gananuṇ aba go birodh bew roaktama,
his anger arose: "O Mapa you+with now I quarrel make" he-said+and,

ōlaṇka ramlika khapciūm roāma tarawār: khapciumo mapalāi lerā be ma
here+from Ramli Khapcium named his-sword: "O-Khapcium Mapa go and

phella (?s) be ma lerā be biūriuma thiurstiu recha. lone khapcium leets
kill and go" he-said+and sent-it. Then Khapcium wentṣ

recha, hurumaksi lestalone, mapa ne mela ne ātediusta: bābā ramli
flying-fast it-went+whens Mapa there+up was-frightened: "Good-sir Ramli

go yo goāni bābā roaktalo pheri ayu u yuṇṇuṇmaka

I salt will-give-you good-sir"she-said+when again down-south his magic+

thāhā loastiuma, u ne khlootalo

being-gifted-with knowledge he-received+and, his mind turned+when

khapcium tarawār khloetama yokta. yoktampachi pheri thiuretiu Dhākṛe.

Khapcium the-sword turned+and came-down...Again he-sent a-porter,

thiurstiulo mapaka yo goaktiuma meomlo atham yo luktam e.

he-sent+when Mapa salt gave+and that+time since salt has-become-normal.

akothisamma cēku, jammā mi cēku hai, lau.

This+much+as-far-as we-know, the-whole-story not we-knows the-end!

2.21. Footnotes.

1. Wayecapciu and Luna are the names of the culture heroes of two other Rai subtribes, respectively the Bahing and Nechali; by extension the names may also be applied to the followers of these heroes and to their settlements. The distinction between them is not clearly maintained: in these episodes they appear four times in the order Wayecapciu-Luna, once in the reverse order, and once each singly although the reference is to both. Similarly even when both names are used, the possessive adjective (in u rī) and the personal pronoun (gana) is singular.

2. My commentator heard siṇārediummiri, (from siṇāṛnu N) which I translated but cannot hear. kindari is not otherwise known (except for its occurrence in a few lines' time).

3. Note the singular verb with plural subject--no doubt the father is speaking on behalf of his wife. Note also the use of

the second person verb endings in a context where some languages (e.g. English) would demand the third person. I was told that bhāśme was Nepali, though it is not in my dictionaries. The same applies to some other words in the text: ekrāje "tremendously", topā "bag". māthnu "prepare as food, season" (?cf. māDnu). Nep. banāunu is widely used in the area in the sense "to cut up" (a carcass).

4. Precisely what it was that the successful suitor had to obtain remains obscure. Contrast the construction used in narration of the first promise (. . . roaktama bācā biūriu) with the present one (. . . roaktam bācā biūriu)t

5. The more natural order would seem to be roaktama thiurṇirim. Perhaps the narrator is confused because his reported speech contains a further reported speech.

6. On this repetition the possessive i is not audible before ser, but I suspect that it would be present in slow speech.

7. The repetition of wakha is heard as wa. For the absence of the ra that one would expect to be suffixed to cautārā cf. 2.11 n6; note that cautārāra has occurred a few lines earlier.

8. Here yokta "he came down" is ambiguous. It might refer to Mapa coming back down from his hunting, or even less naturally, to the Sherpas coming down again to take the grain. On either of these interpretations the sequence of events would be very awkwardly expressed. The most natural reference would be to Mapa coming again to hunt; in this case however, he should have come up, as before, not down.

9. Mapa is a single individual and the Sherpas are offering him a single wife (called Khamemat as we later learn)t However rī is translated as plural because the Sherpas address him as representative of his people, cf. footnote 1.

10. It is not clear who did the sendingt or whether it was now or earlier that Mapa had given his youngest son the ritual skills.

11. The expression is redundant since bhāle N and gropu both mean "cock", cf. the earlier coupling of lamcaka with dahilo N.

12. Correct Nepali would be buDhi-añThi. It might also mean "big toe". The incident involving the stone is not entirely clear.

2.22. Fluent translation.

Competition for Rathongma

Long ago, Ramli Raja went to Wayecapciu-Luna to look for a wife. Wayecapciu had a daughter and a whole crowd of young men had come as suitors. Ramli arrived all smeared with oil dregst while the others were in their finest clothes; but in the end his magical power brought him success. Ramli was given just cooked maize and vegetable juice to eat, while the others all had rice and meat. Ramli picked up the meat bones that were left over and put them in his bag. Then the girl's parents announced: "Let us see then who can cut down the most forest. He shall be the one that we give our daughter to.t" Having made this promiset they distributed axest sharp ones to the other suitors, a blunt one to Ramli; but as they went towards the forest Ramli sharpened his axe on a rough stone. Then he set to workt cutting all the largest trees just half way through, until eventually he reached the ridge. Then he gave a magic whistle, and the storm wind came and blew down all

the half-cut trees in one tremendous pile. Meanwhile the well-dressed suitors had not cut down a single tree all day long. So Ramli was the victor and the girl's parents wondered what on earth to do. In the end they made a second promise: "Let us see who can capture the male and female seeds of the le. He shall be the one that has our daughter." At the place where the le couple dwelt a dog was tied up. Taking the bones which he had collected in his bag after the others' meal, Ramli poured them out in a pile, and while the dog was busy with them he undid its chain and captured the le couple. So Ramli was acknowledged victor at last, and took the girl from Wayecapciu-Lana, and brought her north. So far he had looked repulsives smeared with oil dregs; but when they came up here to his palace the path to the washing place at the spring was paved with coins and when he washed he was like a ball of wool.

Rupture of Intermarriage with Bahing

After a time the wife that Ramli had brought from the south grew thin and weak and said to her husband: "Go down to my parents' and brothers' place and bring back my special food." So Ramli went down to his father-in-law's and told them that their daughter was ailing and had sent him for her special food. So they prepared one bamboo tube of seasoned slugs and one tube of raw slugs and gave them to Ramli to take to his wife telling him not to look in the tubes. But on the journey he wondered to himself what it could be that he was not supposed to look at and opened the bamboo tubes and saw the slugs inside. "So that's the sort of people Wayecapciu-Lana are!" He put the things in one of his palace rooms and told his wife to go and eat what the people from her home had sent. She went in and ate the preparations and as she ate she grew so fat that she got jammed in

the doorway. Ramli thought to himself: "It is not right to take wives from you Luna-Waye people." So he suggested to his wife that they should go down to her parents' place. On the way, the other side of the Solu Kholā at a place called Kharbārie there was a stone resting place where Ramli proposed a stop. While they were resting, Ramli offered to look for his wife's lice. He rested her head on his thigh and started crushing them. While he was doing so, she dropped off to sleep, and, very gently, he laid her down on the ground. In this way he abandoned his wife at the resting place, and came across Ciurku bridge at the junction of the two rivers. At the end of the bridge, he swore an oath: "Let my descendants never take wives from Waye-Luna;" and he planted a stone, which is still there. Therefore between us between Luna and Thulunge there is no community. This is what the stone says.

Introduction of Salt

Then Ramli came north. Up till this time, people had used no salt. Then one day Mapa Raja from up at Luwale went hunting at Māndre cliff. He left his ground meal in a bag where he spent the night at the cliff, and went off hunting. Meanwhile some Sherpas came down, poured out his meal and put lumps of salt into his bag instead. When Mapa returned he looked at the lumps without understanding and was very annoyed. So another time he came bringing his bag of meal and again he left it at the cliff. "Today I'll see who it is, this wretch who goes off with my food and leaves me stones instead" So saying he climbed up into a tree and waited there with his bow drawn. Again the Sherpas came down, poured out his meal and put their pebbles into his bag. But just as he was about to shoot, they saw his shadow, and called out to him:

"Come down, good air, come down, let us become ritual friends. Would you like to marry our girls?" Wondering what they were saying, he climbed down. The Sherpas bit the lumps of salt and ate some and gave some to him; dissolving it in warm water they drank some themselves and made Mapa do the same. Next they gave him their unmarried girls. The name of the Sherpa girl was Khamema. Each winter the two of them came south and each summer they went up to the Sherpa settlements.

Foundation of the Bhume Rites

Afterwards Mapa fell ill with leprosy. His wife and her younger brother carried him on a journey. They stopped for a rest up on Ratnangi ridge. I forget the name of the places and at this point Mapa turned to atone. His wife tried to resurrect him but failed. Then her brother tried and he also failed. Mapa had three sons; to the youngest he had given the powers of a seer and the knowledge of invocations. News was sent and the eldest brother went but failed to resurrect his father. With the second brother it was the same. The youngest however had his visionary powers and the ritual knowledge, so he got his mother to brew some beer and took seven gourds of it together with seven leaf plates of wheat and parched grain. As he travelled he chanted his invocations, using in his rituals an old cock, cimphin and gingers and the gourds of ritual beer. He splashed some beer over his father and cut the cock's mouth and sprinkled him with its blood. At that his father suddenly came alive. So they picked him up again and carried him down to Salabesi. There he left his wife and brother-in-law and asked his youngest son to carry him further. They went down to Yaliu but the wind made it impossible to stay long and they went on down to Saae. The gnats would not let them stay there either and they continued down to the region of

Sakhle. At this point, a stone suddenly turned round and allowed them to leave. While they were still there one of Mapa's thumbs fell off. This was no good, and he asked his son to carry him on again. Next they came to Rindapu hamlet in Dewsa, where they rested, and here too a bhume site was founded - the Sakhle bhume site had been founded where the thumb fell off and another was founded where they rested at Dewea Rindapu. Then they rested up at Amras and another site was founded. From there they went to Luwale, where another was founded. Then they went to Rapca, where Mapa said to his youngest son: "Right, you have a meal I'm not eating. Go and look for firewood." So the son put him down, turning him to face across the hillside, and went to look for wood. When he returned, his father had become a stone, a god. Thus Rapca ought to have been the first to splash him with a gourd, i.e. to worship him, but the people of Phuleli came down, and since they were the first to do it they now have the right. None of us others has the right to perform the Sakhle bhume at Rapca without the permission of Phuleli.

Dispute with the Khaling

It became the custom for Mapa to get salt from the Sherpas and bring it south, and its use spread. But although he knew about it through his clairvoyant powers, Ramli did not have any salt, so he made ready a large basket and sent a porter. But Mapa went and cut off the porter's hand and sent him back. Ramli was furious and swore to become Mapa's enemy. He addressed his sword, which was called Khapcium, bidding it go to Mapa and kill him. The sword went flying through the air and Mapa was cowed. "Oh Ramli, good sir, I will give you your salt," he cried. Knowing of this by his clairvoyance, Ramli

changed his mind and the sword Khapcium turned round and came back down. Ramli sent a second porter and this time Mapa gave him salt. Since that time the use of salt has been customary.

This is the story as far as we know it.

2.23. Notes on idiolect and style.

Phonetically DB's word final -Di and -Da often sound to my ear as if they were -ni and -na. He alternates between ramli and ramlius also between mapa and moapas and bhāeme and bhoame.

He seems to have a particular tendency to omit the connective participial -ma, as in the following four examples: pinaka klesta lēsta, do lēci biūriu yoktiuma, Deotto...phikto biūriu, kriptō thiurto biūriu. In the first instance at least my commentator would have expected the ma, but the final two may exemplify a recognised idiom. (Cf. also 2.21 fn6 for another possible omission). Another mannerism is his frequent use of pheri N (literally "again") in joining one clause to another.

Comparing the texts by Ph and DB one is struck by the relative rarity in the latter of the particle e "they say". This gives his style an authoritative ring which is consonant both with his character and with his important role in the traditional social structure. A similar contrast may be noted in the closing words of the two speakers: where Ph uses the first person singular, DB by using the plural is claiming to speak on behalf of the Thulung at large, as I understand him. However both this and the declamatory tone of voice that DB sometimes uses might be due also to the fact that he was speaking in the presence of a number of relatives who had gathered at a death ceremony that he was conducting (the text itself was given at my

requeet and was not part of the death ritual). Ph was talking only in the presence of myself and his nuclear family.

DB seems to use slightly more loan words.

3. A narrative text in ritual language.

3.1. General character of the language.

Although there are obvious differences between ordinary Thulung and the Thulung used in ritual contexts, it is immediately clear that the ritual language is a variety of the ordinary one. It may possibly contain more loan words from surrounding Rai or non-Rai Tibeto-Burman languages but it is not a foreign language in the sense that for instance Arabic is foreign to Malayan Mohammedans. Nor is it in any straightforward sense an archaic form of contemporary spoken Thulung. Certainly it contains many less Nepali loan words, and it preserves some lexical items that are otherwise obsolete. But the paired-up form in which nouns are typically expressed is clearly related to the chanting of rituals and can never have been a general feature of the spoken language. The more knowledgeable Thulung are aware that this is a language deliberately created for ritual purposes, and in certain circumstances new ritual vocabulary (in particular clan names) can occasionally be coined even today. At least in this text the narrator is not simply repeating word for word what he has learned by heart. Up to a point he is manipulating the language as he goes along, and this no doubt accounts for some of the Nepali words that he uses.

3.2. How representative is the present text?

In its general character the text presented here is reasonably representative of Thulung ritual language, but several qualifications must be made.

(i) It is probable that myths were at one time always narrated in ritual language but this is no longer the case, and all the other myths that I collected (including other versions of this myth) were in the ordinary narrative form exemplified in 2. The other connected texts I recorded in ritual language were not narratives so much as invocations. They have not yet been analysed in depth but they differ from the narrative given here in containing a much smaller proportion of verbal expressions relative to nominal ones. The invocations are nearly always chanted rather than spoken, but it is not clear whether this applies to the present narrative.

(ii) Lexical items in ritual language show greater intervillage variation than do items in the ordinary language.

(iii) No rituals were tape-recorded at Tinglas nor were any other texts collected by dictation. Thus it is difficult to estimate whether the process of dictation may have introduced any untypical features.

3.3. Special editing problema with ritual language.

3.31. Spelling.

Since ritual language is not widely known among the Thulung, it was not always practical to check the spelling of ritual vocabulary. In this speaker's pronunciation I had some difficulty in distinguishing between sa, sa, ga, and so, and in non-initial syllables some of his other vowels appeared indeterminate. There may also be some errors in the distinction between d and D. I have standardised the spelling, choosing (where relevant) the form that makes it easiest to identify the lexical elements.

3.32. Translation of ritual vocabulary.

Nominal expressions in ritual language consist typically, not just of a single noun plus, let us say, an epithet, but of a number of lexical elements that may be related in various ways which cannot be examined here. Some of the elements can be clearly identified because they are the same as, or similar to, items from the ordinary lexicon. This only applies to about half the elements, the rest being either totally obscure or at least problematic. Good informants can however generally give a global meaning for the expression and it is only the global meaning that this translation aims to convey. Where particular component elements can be identified with confidence they will be found in the glossary, but not otherwise.

3.33. Sequence of events.

Because of the elliptical style it is not always easy to follow the precise sequence of events in the narrative, and even the syntactical relationship of parts of the sentence may be obscured (3.55)s I have tried to deal with these difficulties as far as possible by means of bracketed insertions in the English translation with minimal use of footnotes. In some places interpretation has been facilitated by other versions of the text. The first two episodes are covered by parallel versions from other villages (not reproduced here) couched in ordinary narrative style, while the final episode is covered by a parallel dictated version. This is not the place to attempt a detailed interpretation of the myth in the light of its variants. However a short extract from the parallel dictated version together with a summary of the main variants is included in 3.42 since it helps to show what sort of questions can meaningfully be asked about the language in the main text.

3.34. Nepali loan words.

As already remarked, the ritual language uses few Nepali loan words but a proportion of those it does use are incorporated within the nominal expressions. This means that their meaning is as it were submerged in that of the whole expression; the words are not being used in quite the same way as in Nepali, and it is debatable whether or not they should be underlined. Here is a list of such expressions from the present text.

khikachem "fine clothes" contains khikā N (originally Newari) "aide of a piece of cloth, sign printed on it".

pindima demciuli "threshold stone" contains pīDhi N "verandah".

patidu, part of the nominal expression meaning "jungle", contains

pāti N understood by my informant as tite pāti "wormwood".

guwali deyalī "barn" was said to be from guyāli N, originally presumably "cowshed".

3.4. "The Jaw-Khliw cycle" (Tingla version)

Khakcilik the fisherman gets a wife

yonkhorī khurmuri papalibu giju wajuka pholeo niupao. papalibura
A fishing line (and) a bamboo rod with his knife he cut. On the rod

niupao beso. belelam solelamDa achedin diridinyu,
he made ready (attaching the line)s On his way down to the lake (he

sase destiu. rinmo kheageDDa. u biduriDa phikso niupao,
went)s he cast. A gaDerā N fish hanging (from the hook) came up. In his

ma duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūriu. u nebdi khebdira aye phasta.
fish-basket he put it, and it grew late. To his house he returned.

cape biūriu Dupe biūriu. bure bela beata. duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūriu.
He prepared food and drink. He took his meal. Night fell.

bubukomai beao niupao. khiya emeta. nemo batha nepeu olla.
He made ready his pillow. He slept. As soon as it was dawn the sun

cape Dupe biūriu. belelam aolelamDa lesta. hui diridin achedinyu
roae. He took his morning meal. He went on his way. Down at the lake

karcali sase deatiu. bubuti beao niupeo. blokulu seorlu
hia hook he cast. He fished around. The deep-water atone the ancestor-

kheaageDDa. bandiloaka preao niupso, sase deatiu.
atone came up. With his hand he picked it off and dropped it back in.

pheri karcali sase deatiu. blokulu seorlu kheaageDDa. bandiloaka
Again he cast his hook. The same stone came up. With his hand

loaoloaka khiya preoatiu, pheri sase deatiu. blokulu seorlu
he picked it off, and again dropped it back in. The same stone came

kheaageDDa. pheri nebdira khebdira rokta. cape Dupe biūriu.
up (and he did as before). Again he came home. He prepared a meal.

bure bela beata. bubukomai beao niupao, emsta. nemo batha khiya
He ate it. He made ready his pillow and slept. At day break he

noata. cape Dupe biūriu. bure bela beata. belelam aolelamDa leata
awoke, prepared his morning meal and ate it. He went his way

niubDa ma karcali ne sase deatiu, diridin goiu. blokulu seorlu
and cast his hook, down in the lake. The same stone

karcali kheaageDDa. diya diya diusta. u biduriDa coṇDiu.
(on) his hook came up. He was very vexed. He pushed it into his fish-

duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūriu. nebdira khebdira rokta. cape Dupe biūriu.
basket. Night fell. He came home and had a meal,

bubukomei beao niupao, emsta. nem soṇDa, nepeu olla. cape Dupe biūriu,
prepared his pillow and slept. Day dawned, the sun rose. He made

bure bela besta. belelam solelam lesta diridinyu. karcali sase deetiu.
breakfast and ate it. He went his way down to the lake. He cast his

biduriDa phiktiu niubDiu. duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūriu.
hook. Into the basket he poured (the fish he caught). It grew late.

belelam solelamDa aye phasta. nebdira khebdira roktalonee cape Dupe re
He went on his way back. When he reached home, his meal

bemma recha. e akom diukha loāpa cala loāpa,
was already prepared! "Such great misery (as mine) the person-who-has-

a krium kora loāpa, ma siu re ma?
seene my hunger and thirst the-one-who-has-noticed who can it be?"

roka ka poci. i krium kora loāpae go re seoe roakta recha,
"Come let us eat. Your hunger and thirst the one who noticed is me" said

ma niphina pecci. koṇmi kuTunika:
(a certain woman, and the two of them ate. Another meddlesome woman

i krium kora loāpa ne meo ne me-e seoa
(said): "The person who looked to your hunger and thirst is not that one

ema, a krium kora repa koṇmiṇa bu. ma siu hola ta
(who claims it) it is someone quite different." "But who can it be?"

bhanyoe ema ne meoram ne namnamsitami ma ho ta bhanyo. ma gana i
he said. "It is that wife of yours" said the other "You

belelam solelamDa lekpa lisa. lamcaka...
pretend to go on your way. (By) the door (brief lacuna in text)

riciphreo korophreoka, hersaṇa baya. cheorciuli leṇ¹
with a winnowing fan propping it on its side wait." She descended

sase desta, cape Dupe biūriu. i bandiloaka losoloaka soka
from the storage basket and prepared the meal. "Grab tight hold of

hebDa seo. siu De a neoremdu toremdura loa phikpas siu De?
her in your arms." "Who is this laying hands on my body. who is it?

go De me biṇsiṇu. a tukur jēsta. a jērem jēsta.

I won't give in. My string of beads is broken. my ribs are broken.

a neoremdu toremdu yeka yeka diusta. gosne me biṇsiṇu roakta recha.
My body is all battered. I won't give in" she said.

meo ne go ne namnamsitami De beṇsiṇu.s tukurso beni.

"That is the one I shall take for my wife." "Beads I shall get for you.

seonachem o beniṇ rupachem osbeni, khikachem o beni. muliu odi becci.
and ornaments of gold and silvers and fine clothes." They talked it over.

Cindiringma and the building of the house

wayeluṇma kam neoremdura lasa desta. u pap khakcilik.sboakpa

In the body of Wayelungma the semen fell. His father Khakcilik, the

roso gonu, u mam wayeluṇma phleku phleṇma gonu--cindiriṇma

penis (?) within, his mother Wayelungma the womb within--Cindiringma

u mamku phleku phleṇma gonu more munda. samluṇma ledebelku

in his mother's womb was created. (On) the whetstone his implement(?)

phaye phaye sepao niupso. jephra namdinu thesari seolamri sase destiu.

he sharpened. Towards the forest (going) a tree trunk he felled.

khakcilikka beso niupso. nebdi khebdira kharidelphu liphuridorra

Khakcilik got the trunk ready. (Back) at the house in the courtyard

sase destiu, u bim manthim. khakcilika ho, hano

he put it down, (but it was) without a fork. "Khakcilik, over there

deksathemla saṅkhemer maṅkhemer toamiksi loamiksi replora

up in the tree foliage the birds' (forked) tails (with) your eyes look

aso, wayelunmaka khakciliklāi siDDiu. pheri jephradu namdinu
at them" Wayelungma instructed Khakcilik. Again towards the jungle

sālsen sase destiu. nebbi biūriuma kharidelphu liphuridorra sase
(going) a Shorea tree he felled. Taking it home he put it down in the

deatiu. lau khakcilika ho, oala oala, lau jeopa reTna recha.
courtyard. "Well done, Khakcilik, that's a fine one you have brought."

meoDDaṇ ne cindiriṇma coṇmakhaiu sase desta. chekuchenma merkuchenma
Then Cindiringma descended onto the ground. She washed (the new-born

biūriu. cindiriṇma sēla geDDa. meoDDaṇ ne eiṇgelma groktelma
baby)s Cindiringma grew stronger. Then the two of them began to

bonu ceomci. wayelun ku neoremdura cindiriṇma peṇkuṇka
make the frame (of the house). On Wayelungma's body Cindiringma in a

khiya kurrium bayra. muliu becci, ma polium dacci. khakcilikka
papoose was carried. They had a discussion and dug a pit. Khakcilik

sāleen polium goiu sase destiu. yongi yongi diusta.
thrust the trunk down into the pit (as the central pillar)s (But) it was

ma wayelunma bika ka. niphika sase dekci.
very unsteady. "Wayelungmas come (and help)s" The two of them tried.

sālsen ne sase dekci lone, cindiriṇma ṇaddo alsta.
While they were lowering the trunks Cindiringma just before fell (into

sālsen caṇko caṇko diusta. briko
the hole and was crushed). (Now) the trunk was perfectly firm. They

dekci. briko me deka, khakcilika ho. etha a buṇdo o bu. wayelunmaka
wept. "Don't weep, Khakcilik. My fertility still remains" Wayelungma

roakta. aiṇgelma groktelma beccis liucheri thōmunem becci,
said. They made the wooden frameworks tying the joints with strips of

koksiuriu prēmumem becci, bokoli neyaliluṇ becci,
bamboo, and strips of kūyal N bark; they set in place the hearth stones,

pakhaluṇ makhaluṇ becci, cokcoluṇ bandiluṇ becci, pindima demciuli
the edging stones; the threshing stone, the threshold stone;

becci, kharidelphu liphuridor becci. nebdi khebdi diusta.
they made the courtyard. The house was finished.

The cultivation of the swidden

muliu becci. jephranu remasidu pātidu loramdu giju wasjuka
They had a discussion. The jungle trees and plants with their metal

sase dekci. nepaṇkherma dadakherma becci niupci.
implements they felled. They let the sun dry out (the clearing they had

(ricimu) yeaṇmablam taṇmablam kam julo niupso besa. ricimu kḥundamu
made)t He prepared a tinder of fibre from the plantain tree. He

kartiumu jesimu besa niupso. khiya lekci.
kindled fire (to burn the vegetation). They went (again another day)s

kokopcoka khiya kekci, khiya kekci niupci. maṣibrel busibrel,
They dug it over well with a hoe. Black and white lentil seeds,

reṇmasibrel rebusibrel, sali sajanibrel khiya phocci niupci. pariku
eleuaine and rice seeds they sowed. The (monsoon)

chomiku sase desta. nebdira khebdira aye phaṣci, cape Dupe becci,
rains fell. They returned home, prepared a meal,

bure bela besicci, bubukomei besa niupso,² khiya emci. nemeo bathaṇ
ate it, prepared their bedding and went to sleep. At day break they

khiya bekci. wayeluṇmaka ala jiujiu ṁpala khakciliklāi
got up. Wayelungma (said) to Khokcilik: "Uphill to the higher mountains

lek̄sa, i loamiksi toamiksi hirimi beDDiu replora seo. meoDDaŋ
go and (with) your eyes see (whether) the hirimi has flowered. Then

aye phaaa nebdira khebdira. meoDDaŋ heiu wayecaptiu tentebuŋ
come back home. Then (go) downhill and see (whether) the roDingo N

beDDiu loamiksika toamiksika replora ma aye phasa nebdi khebdira.
has flowered and come back home.

cape Dupe beccis bure bela besiccis bubukomsi beao, khiya emci niupci.
They prepared a meal, ate it, made ready the bedding and slept.

nem̄eo bathaŋ hano kharidē luridē. loamiksika toamikeika replora seo:
At day break (he went) over to where they had worked. "Look well:

pōceor geDDa re me re. leasta recha, haliu haliu diblo diblo diueta
have the shoots come up or not?" It was flourishings growing

recha. ciripo yedapo pumsaŋmano rebudam besoe
excellently. A fowl over at thes(?) and ritual offerings he prepared

sase dekce.³ nebdira khebdira aye phasta. cape Dupe becci niupci,
and sacrificed. He returned home. They cooked and ate a meal,

bure bela besicci, bubukomsi beao, emci niupci. hala jiujiu ompala
prepared bedding and slept. "Up in the higher mountains

hirimi om̄seDDiu re me re loamiksi toamiksika reploraŋ ma aye phasa.
see whether the hirimi has ripened; then come back."

kharidē luridēra bram̄dilo becci. hirimi ne om̄seDDiu recha.
In the work place they did the weeding. The hirimi had ripened.

ayu wayscaptiu tentebuŋ replora loamiksi toamiksikaŋ aye phasa nebdira
"(Go) down to the valley and look at the roDingo, and come back

khebdira. ici reŋmaser rebuser mim ne om̄seDDiu recha. papalibu giju
home. "Our eleusine and the rest are ripe." (Splitting) bamboos with

wajuka eiumditophrim salatophrim, gurisoar kam peāmuyep
his knife he made a close-weave carrying basket, and from split cane a
beeo niupso. bububuyla kureo niupso.
tump-line. (Putting the tump-line) on his head he carried (the basket).

giju beeo, kharidēno bloara deopsta. gijuka wajuka reṇmaeer
Taking his implement, he reached the clearing. With his sickle the
rebuser mim khiya hektiu. eiumditophrimDa salatophrimDa khiya phiktiu
eleueine etc he harvested. Into the basket he put (the ears)

niubDiuma duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūrimuma nebdira khebdira guwalino deyalino
and it grew late and at home over to the barn (he took them and)

ease deetiu.
put them down.

The brewing of the beer

dayoṇma riyeṇma sibe-tophrim salatophrimDa⁴ guwalinum khiya phiDDiu.
To the flat basket in the carrying basket from the barn he brought

chekkermala khiya loaktiu. ricimu khundamu jieimu beeo niupsoe
(some grain and) placed it up on the drying frame. He kindled fire

niupci beccima cokcoluṇDa bandiluṇDa siumdikhundium salakhundium
and when they had (everything) ready on the threshing stone (with) a

khiya DoṇDiu. riciphreoDa khiya soaktiu.
threshing stick he (or she) threshed it. He winnowed it on a winnowing

hiriyakheca radhakheca khiya phiktiu niubDiuma merkuchenma chekuchenma
fan. He put (the grain in) a small square basket and washed

niupso beeo. khreputaluṇ khremaluṇDa khiya yektiu. (beljam beeo) koei
(? what)s On the handmill he ground (the grain)s He got ready

beljam beso niupso. cheku merku khiya ṇolliu.

some walnuts and gahate jhār N. He kneaded (them in with some) water.

hiriyakheca radhakhecara kikirīṭma kiriṇmaka beso niupso.

In the basket with the yeast organism he made (?ta circular gesture).

hiriyakheca radhakhecara khiya samDiu. mosiumla khiya coṇDiu, beso

In the basket he incubated it. He put it up in the mosium, doing (what

niupso. nemso bathaṇ rīmaneo samaneo tium toka seo. meoDDaṇ ne
was needed)t (One) morning "(With) your nose smell it." Then he

riciphreo korophreo khiya heṭmDiu. nepsuṇkṭerma dadakherma
spread it out (on) a winnowing fan. He dried (the yeast preparation)

beso niupso. cheorciulila khiya coṇDiu. guwali deyalinu
in the sun. He put it up in the storage basket. Over to the barn (he

riyambu chekkermala muliutophrimDa siumditophrimDa
went again and) to a flat basket on the drying frame in the carrying

phiso niupso. khiya coṇDiu. ricimu khundamu kartiumu jisimu beso niupso.
basket he brought (grain), and placed it (over the fire). He lit a fire.

cokcoluṇ bandiluṇ siumdikhundium salakhundium khiya Dōso niupso.
(On) the threshing stone (with) the threshing stick he threshed.

riciphreoDa khiya soaktiu. soaktiu niubDiumat hiriyakheca radhakhecsra
He winnowed on a winnowing fan. Having done so, he poured (the grain)

khiya phiktiu. chekuchenma merkuchenma biūri⁵u niubDiumat⁵ siumdikap
into a square basket. He washed and got ready

radhikap beso niupso. chomiku pariku radhikabDa phikeo niupso.
an earthenware vessel. He poured some rain water into the vessel.

ricimu khundamu Dōla khiya koaDDiu. chekuku merkuku khiya phiktiu.
He put it over the fire. He poured in water (from a spring?).

reṇmasi rebusi khiya phiktiu. siumdikorceom salakorceom pesikorceom
He poured in the eleusine. (With) the stirrer he

khiya pholliu. ricimu khundamu khiya hoDDiu. sibise dayoṇma sase
stirred it. He blew up the fire. The flat basket they took down and

dekcima khiya hemci. diliju thamaju beso niupso.
spread out in the open. He cooled (the grain on it) in the breeze.

sotophul makuphul khiya ṇolliu, bandiloaka. siumditophrim salatophrim
He mixed in the yeast, with his hand. (Transferring the mixture to) a

saya rōjiu beso niupso, khiya samDiu. sotophul diriphul khiya phoDDiu.
close-wove basket he added fern and incubated. He scattered on the

mosiumkhomla coṇDiu. samaneo rimaneo tium toka. nemso
yeast. He put it in the mosium. "With your nose smell it." The

bathaṇ kumalip radhalip merkuchenma chekuchenma beso niupso.
morning (when it was ready) he washed an earthenware jar. He

nepsuṇkherma dadakheṣma beso niupso. leāsiblam kam siptilim
dried it in the sun. He prepared the banana leaf filter (at the bottom

beso niupso. mosiumkhomla jiulso niupso. eipkaDiu khamaDiu
of the jar). He placed it in the mosium. The fermenting beer he

bandiloaka khiya phiktiu. khutiublam kam ciuitem beso niupso.
transferred by hand (into the jar). He made the cover of buletre N leaf.

diriphul sotophul chekuka merkuka khiya ṇolliu bandiloaka, ciuitemDa
Ash with water he mixed with his hand, and smeared

khiya klektiu niubDiu.
it on the cover (to make it air-tight).

3.41. Footnotes.

1. Probably error for lam lun. While Khakcilik is hiding near the door, the stone turns into his future wife, Wayelunma. The combination of imperatives and past tenses in this passage is a little puzzling. Other versions distinguish the instructions and prophecy given by an unnamed individual from the subsequent events which accord with them. Apparently these two elements of the story have here been conflated.
2. Note the singular, which appears regularly in this formula. Presumably it was the wife's job to make the preparations for sleeping.
3. dekce: ? an error for destiu. It was a bhume N sacrifice, i.e. one for agricultural fertility. I do not fully understand in this episode how the agricultural operations are coordinated with the various natural events.
4. The usual ritual name for "basket" is siumditophrim salatophrim, and the present expression is a slip, as is muliutophrim siumditophrim in a few lines' time. No doubt sibetophrim arose from the association with dayonma, whose ritual name is sibise dayonma. In a few lines' time, sotophul makuphul is a slip for sotophul diriphul. The careful reader will also have noticed many instances where the order of elements in a ritual name is reverseds not to mention those where one element is omitted. Such instances make it easy to understand how variant forms of ritual language appear and become established.
5. As in the similar step during the preparation of the yeast; here too it is unclear exactly what is being washed. Perhaps this

time (? both times) the narrator is anticipating the washing of the cooking vessel described in the next sentence.

3.42. A variant version.

Five days before dictating to me the text presented above, the same informant had dictated a considerably shorter text which is more or less the same as "The Brewing of the Beer" except that it starts a few lines earlier. Although the differences are small they are of some interest. Firstly they demonstrate a fact about Thulung culture which is confirmed by other evidence, namely that it does not demand that successive repetitions of a text in ritual language should be identical word for word. Secondly the variants suggest that it would be a waste of time to search for detailed explanations at every single point where difficulty arises in the grammar since a good proportion of such difficulties are no more than variations. The variant version also confirms that the order of events is occasionally somewhat gumbled.

The following fragment, taken from the beginning of the variant version will be sufficient to give an idea of the degree of difference between the two versions.

papalibu giju waju sase dekso. siumditophrim salatophrim guriyep
Some bamboos (with) his knife he cut down. His basket (and)

peāmuyep bububuyla kurso niupso. gijuwa beso waju besos kharidē
tump-line on his head he carried. Taking his sickle, to the place of

luridē, u ye-dēno lesta. hekso niupso, siumditophrim salatophrimDa
work, to his fields he went. He harvested (the grain), and in his

sase destiu. duṇmaka yaṇmaka biūriu. nebdi khebdira aye phasta.
basket put it. Night fell. He returned home.

deyali guwali sase destiu, phiDDiu niubDiu. chekkerma riyonma
In the barn he put it down, he brought it (there)s (On) the drying

khiya coṇDiu. ricimu khundamu jisimu khiya hoDDiu. cokciluṇ bandiluṇ
frame he put it up. He blew up the fire. (Onto) the threshing

khiya destiu.

stone he brought it down.

The other main differences can be summarised as follows, in order of occurrence. In the variant version the first washing comes after the grinding of the grain. The slightly obscure sentence concerning kikirinṃa is absent. The mosium is regularly referred to by its usual ritual names mosiukhom morikhom. The exhortation to smell the yeast preparation is preceded by an exhortation I do not properly understand: tukura theomsa barara theomsa "measure it in the jackfruit (?)". The reference to the use of rain water (apparently for washing the vessel) is omitted. When the earthenware vessel is placed on the fire, the expression used is seorluṇ bokoliluṇ deyaluṇ mataluṇDa khiya koaDDa "he put it on the hearth stones". After the fire is blown up the brewer stirs the contents a second time using a different verb har- (khiya harriu) now that the mixture is less fluid. ṇolliu "he mixed" appears in the dialectal form ṇolsiu. The reference to incubation, apparently premature anyway, is omitted and the yeast is scattered on after the mixture has been moved to the mosium. The drying of the earthenware jar is omitted.

There are also a number of minor differences some of which are drawn on in other subsections of 3.

3.5. Linguistic comments.

I hope to examine elsewhere the structure of nominal expressions in the ritual language, using a larger sample. Thus the comments in this section are primarily concerned with verbal expressions, and

particularly of course with those that differ from the ordinary verb as described and exemplified previously. Apart from these major lexical items one is struck by the abrupt and elliptic style with its almost complete absence of the connective particles and constructions which contribute so much to the flow of the straightforward narratives.

3.51. Verbal expressions containing niup-.

Most of the verbal expressions (like most of the nominal ones) consist of two words. When both words are verbs (as opposed to adverb and verb), then one of the verbs is niup-. To a first approximation the meaning of the expression is carried entirely by the other verb, niup- contributing only to the stylistic effect. However the root appears also in niuplam "auspiciously, naturally", as opposed to jēlam "unnaturally, inauspiciously" (of the mode of dying)s and is perhaps related to niu- "be well, be right"; thus niup- may carry the nuance "do something auspiciously" (or perhaps "archetypally"). It is never used by characters in the myth when they address each other, and hence only appears in the third person. It is used only when the subject is inanimate, and never for instance in the formula dugmaka yaṇmaka biūriu "It grew late"s where the subject is presumably inanimate.

niup- typically follows the verb that bears the burden of the meaningi but there are two or three instances in which it precedes, without clearly affecting the sense. In ordinary language verbs are occasionally coupled in pairs reminiscent of augmentatives in nouns (IV 1.31), e.g. yemu dūmu "shout at the top of one's voice" from ye- and duk-, both meaning "shout". But the closest parallels in the ordinary language to the construction with niup- are perhaps constructions with bomu, as in the phrase remmu bomu (=hernu warnu N) "have a look at, make a visit to inspect" (potential bride, at an early stage

of marriage negotiations).

niup- is coupled with about a dozen different verbs, the commonest being b(e)-. In only two instances is the expression intransitive: lesta niubDa "he went", khiya emci niupci "they slept". It is never coupled with compound verbs, which are indeed less frequent than in the ordinary language.

3.52. The verb ending -so.

The ending -so has not been found outside ritual language. It is a 3 S past transitive endings particularly common in expressions containing niup-; there are only a couple of instances (included in 3.42) where the ending occurs without niup-. It alternates with the normal form without difference of meaning, e.g. both biūriu niubDiu and beso niupso follow chekuchenma merkuchenma "he washed". It belongs to ending class SA, and was indeed occasionally heard as -sa.

3.53. Adverbs.

Another striking feature of the language is the frequency of adverbs, which again appear to add little to the meaning. phas- "come" is always preceded by aye, which appears with no other verb. Similarly the adverb sase is exclusively linked with deka- "descends put down, cause to fall"; the only two instances where deka- appears without sase are in connection with bodily processes (weeping and depositing semen)a bloaras both here and generally in ritual language, is linked with deop- "appear". Note also the moare or more that here accompanies mun- "be created".

The adverb khiya on the other hand is used with more than twenty different verbs, at least four of them being intransitive. Some verbs which take it can also be coupled with niup-, e.g. khiya phiDDiu or

phiso niupso "he brought". Sometimes both sorts of elaboration occur in immediate succession (khiya soaktiu, soaktiu niubDiuma "he winnowed and"), or conflated (khiya phikti niubDiu "he poured"). But some verbs definitely prefer one or other construction, and b(e)- for instance never occurs with an adverb.

3.54. Further notes on composite verbal expressions.

The ritual language seems as it were to economise on verbal expressions by overworking a few verbs; notably daks- and b(e)-, using them in a wider range of contexts than would be natural in the everyday language. One example is in the following expression:

nepsun^hkherma dadakherma beso niupso "he dried it in the sun"
Here nepsun is "sun", dada is unanalysed and kherma is from kher- "parch", the -ma being possibly an altered form of the infinitival -mu rather than the usual -ma (of III 3.55). The same structure is seen in:

chekuchenma merkuchenma beso niupso "he washed it in water"
Here ku is "water", mer- is unanalysed, chenma and probably che- are from chet- "rinse, wash". One might compare:

diliju thamaju beso niupso "he cooled it in the breeze"
though here ju "wind" is not recognisable as a verb.

bramdilo becci "they weeded" probably contains brek- "weed" and loa "hand". It will have been noted that certain verbs are frequently accompanied by mention of the part of the body used in carrying out the action they denote. Thus rep- "look at" is usually associated with loamiksi toamiksika (miksi = "eye"; for loa- cf. loas- "see"), so that the whole expression can almost be regarded as a composite verbal one.

3.55. Omission of postpositions.

It is unimportant whether postpositions are added to both members of a two-member nominal expression or only to the second. Thus we find sometimes nebdira khebdira, sometimes nebdi khebdira "to the house".

In an expression like saṅkhemer maṅkhemer toamiksi loakiksi replora seo "look at the birds' tails" one would expect to find the postfix -ka "with" attached to at least the second occurrence of miksi "eyes". The prefix is present in the same and similar expressions elsewhere in the text and the omission would be out of the question in the ordinary language. However there are a considerable number of examples of the sporadic omission of postpositions, and this seems unlikely to be solely a by-product of the fact that the text was dictated. Presumably it is just another feature of the highly elliptic style, comparable to the occasional omission of verbs of motion, and the frequent omission of reference to who it is that is speaking at a given point.

GLOSSARY

The following glossary contains a good deal more vocabulary than appears in the texts or has been cited in the grammar. It includes virtually all the data from which Table VI was compiled, though with a few corrections and revisions of little quantitative significance. However it is by no means a complete lexicon of the language. Deliberate omissions include feminine forms listed in IV 1.1, a few names of unidentified birds, a good number of uncommon reduplicated adverbial expressions, and a certain amount of everyday vocabulary more conveniently treated in an ethnographic context (names of ceremonies, types of evil spirit, a number of kinship terms and parts of the houses etc.)^s The component elements of ritual expressions have only been included if they are common^s or at least current, in everyday life. Many grammatical elements are included, but pronouns and verb endings treated in III 3 and 7 are generally omitted. I have not tried to include everything that is to be found in AS or Hodgson. There must of course in addition be a good deal of vocabulary (not to mention dialectal variants) that I did not succeed in collecting, though it is difficult to estimate how much.

Most of the vocabulary was originally recorded with Nepali glosses, but these have only occasionally been included in the main body of the glossary. On the other hand I am no botanist, and the names of trees and wild plants listed in Appendix 1 are given for the most part only with Nepali renderings. The Latin names can sometimes be found in Turner's dictionary or in the publications of the Ministry of Forests^s Department of Medicinal Plants. Not all the Nepali names I was given have been found in these sources or in Sarma (who gives brief

descriptions but no Latin names), and some of them may be dialectisms.

In spite of all efforts there will surely be a number of errors and misunderstandings. With verbs the main effort went into trying to establish the stem consonant; additional e and additional loss of stem consonant (III 4.39e 4.33) were not very carefully studied nor was transitivity (III 2.2)e Where the English translation is transitive the Thulung verb should be assumed to take transitive endings and similarly for intransitives; ambiguous instances are marked with TB (transitive endings) or IB. The working assumption was that to test the 3 S past alone would be sufficient, but in fact in one or two instances there seem to be differences between tenses or persons (norqiri (trans) "I pondered", norra (intrans) "he pondered").

Since no ambiguity results verbs in -si(t)- are for convenience written as ending in ei-, i.e. hiei- rather than hisi(t)-. In this particular instance, as with a number of compound verbs the stem consonant of the first element was not determined.

Words are occasionally marked as archaic (arch)e obsolescent (obs) or rare, but this has not been done systematically. Such labels could in fact be appended to a much greater proportion of the vocabulary.

With verbs particularly the English renderings risk being either too narrow or too broad. Records were often kept of examples illustrating the semantic contexts in which a verb could be used but the indications given are of course minimal ones. Aspectuals (asp) are treated in III 5.12; sometimes no meaning can be given. For augmentatives (aug) see IV 1.31 and VI 3.51. Some of the kinship terms are given specifications according to one of the conventions used by anthropologists (Z = sister).

Alphabetization is as in English, with the following exceptions.
e immediately precedes a, sn immediately follows sn, eo and iu immediately follow o and u respectively; oa and ea however are treated as variants of a and e.

e

e-: pour out, empty.

ek-, ekə-: pull out.

ems-, ums-: sleep.

ensi-: change (clothes)s

a

a: In demonstrativess= o: this. Cf ha-. In first person possessive adj.
Vocative affix.

oat-: distract. oaTɿri: I was lost in thought.

oala, oalaseo: congratulations!

als-: fall off, fall.

am-: put to sleep (children)s, deceive.

an-: drop.

ar-: tingle (the sensation on eating timbur N).

aye: only as in VI 3.53.

b

be-: become smelly (as beer, siumci).

bek-: 1. get up (from sleeping, sitting)s, rise (of anger, a blister)s
become erect (of penis)s 2. wipe.

belekpu: yam, potato.

belku (arch): sword.

ben: smooth-edged sickle.

benkhar: belch.

ber- (cf baDhnu N): grow.

beri (obs): wild dog.

berkuwa: itchy and infected skin around toes due to prolonged immersion
in paddy fields.

beT: hospitality, insb. b(e)- or bet-. becceo, AS wecceo: guest.

bet-: 1. tie up (person, bale of straw); put (someone) under obligation.
2. open (of flower); go white (of hair). jiriri b.: have one's
hair stand on end (with fright)s

ba: where. bam: which (interrog. adj.). bantheo, bante: whither.
bantems bālam: whence. ba ... ba ...: used in weighing alternatives.

b(a)- (III 4.36): be, stay, be seated, be available, cf III 7.51, 3.54-6.
bakhop: lodgings. basi-: be necessary. he bamsium: what is to
be done?

boat pig. boakteo: piglet.

babakul: crane, or ?eagle.

bachiumt invocation, prayer.

bagmakhor, intb. bomu: crawl on all fours as infant.

baji, AS -jiu: Brahman or Chetri.

bakeilun: flint for striking light.

bal-: entangle, catch, wind around. balslaDDa: it's got caught (of clothes on wayside bush). lem balpa: stammerer. balsi-: be distracted.

'balam: shoulder blade.

balam, boalam: wooden hammer (esp for beating clothes while washing them);

ban-, bha(t)-: wear, put on as ornament (jewellery, flower). Tikā N
babenu: put T. on someone's forehead as blessing.

boap, in b. bomu: settle down in life, become householder. boapceo: male head of household.

baphlem (arch): wing.

bar: thickened part of fowl's mesentery (consulted in divination).

bara: jackfruit.

baran: fruit of bhorlo N creeper (used as medicine).

basi: already, previously. b. bihān N: this morning. bastat yesterday.
basinta: last night.

bat-: join. banphit-: collect en route and bring across (similarly with other verbs of bringing). banlak-: deliver en route.

boat-, bhoat-: cook by boiling (rice, potatoes).

bātherlun, bāthermo, bāther: thunderbolt. b. ka obDiu: he was struck by lightning.

'baw: elder son or brother.

baya: land, earth; floor of house. Aug niya.

bayei, bāyēi: spindle.

b(e)- (III 4.56): maket do; put; eay; copulate with (woman speaking of man). Cf III 6.1, 7.23, 7.44. bomleamu: appear ugly.
bepreakpa: ugly. bemsi-: cf tap, odi.

becike: bamboo shoots (eaten as ke).

beakb-: break on stretching (intrans) (as rope).

bel, bal: spleen.

belemciu (rare): knowledgeable.

bele, boleo, beleo: well, thoroughly.

belepma: plant with edible ahoote (armale N).

beljamt gahate jhār N.

belei: cimphin N (eede used in ritual).

belwat AS beluwa: smooth-edged sickle.

bem: slug.

bemei-: put round oneeelf, gird on (waist cloth, kukri)t

beno, AS beoneo: ox.

beaṇei (N byāsi): irrigated field.

beaṇwaci, bēwaci (cf baigun N): brinjal.

bep: grandfather.

bepha: boar, male pig.

bephermu, -ma: butterfly, moth.

bephum: bamboo; bamboo used as firewood.

beruli, berli: pair of close friends (same or different sex)t

bet-: act on, affect, afflict. III 5.14.

betho: kukri.

bhal, ubhal: horizontally, away across hillside. bhalṇa: later.

bham/p-: catch on, get caught up on (as wayside thorns)t bhapwalpa: clumsy.

bham (arch): skin.

bhano: towards (of space or time)t hunumbhano: towards the other side.
bhare, baret(? cf bāre N): around (of space)t akiṇa bhare wo:
in these parts too.

bhapa: broad, spacious.

bhendarani (cf rānbherā N): tomato.

bhop-: stop; shut in, prevent from passing (as animals into crops)t

bhreos-, breos-, AS bheos- (misprint?): tear (intrans) (as cloth)t
break off (as fruit or leaves)t

bhuliuliut -lium: thunder.

bhum: bamboo tube for blowing fire.

bhur-, bur-: be angry with, abuse.

bhusiumpoa: brown hairy caterpillar (jhusle kirā N).

- bi-: 1. burst, crack (of eggs, vessels sole of foot)s 2. ask for, beg {-nuŋ from someone)s bisi-: obey, agree to request, listen.
- biDa: leech.
- biduri: fisherman's basket (eipriŋ N)s
- bijje: Indian hemp.
- bik-: come directlys across.
- bikukma, AS bikhupma: *Panicum crue galli* (junelo N).
- bili, bil, AS billi: approximately (of time). athambili: nowadays.
dika bili: tomorrow or shortly.
- bim: fork (of trunk).
- bip-: put (into hole or gap). III 5.13.
- bir-: become blocked up (of hole for earring, of gap in mud wall of paddy field)s
- birmaŋ cat.
- bit-: importune.
- bles 1. four. 2. metal arrow head.
- bloakcam: bamboo ladle.
- blams leaf (= sēlam).
- blam-: fail, be spoilt, come to nothing. blam blam liumu: be anxious and depressed.
- blat-: dry (grain, washing in sun)i
- bloa(t)-: decorate, dress up.
- ble: penis.
- ble-: take, take out, get.
- bleak-: 1. be blunted, lose edge. 2. chop down.
- bleakci, bloakci, AS beleakci: lightning.
- bleaks-, blea(ŋ)-?: build (roof, platform)s
- blem-: be humbled.
- bleaŋkuma: white mushroom.
- blo: snake.
- blōjiu: storm wind.
- blokus deep water, large river.
- bleom-: tangle up (thread). bleomsi-: be confused, muddled.

bleopheom: nodding forward in sitting position.

blium- TE: submerge (of water covering potatoes)t bliumDiu: he is sinking (of moribund man).

bliut-, AS blut-: boil (intrans)t

bo-: go white (of popped maize, of hair)t bubum: white.

bobdiu, -dium: slowcoach, incompetent.

bobok, ASt-p: owl.

bok-: throw (in wrestling);t?=buk-.

boklangi: bubble.

bokoli, -liu: hearth, fireplace.

boldam: gadfly.

boluŋt wool.

bom: gourd; epiphytes.

bom-: bring up (child).

bomkhel: big toe. bomla: thumb.

bomli: loop (eep for carrying leaf umbrella)t

bomtha: very fat (of baby)t

bop: IV 6.1. boprom: bell. bopaiu: hunched posture.

bop-: patch, repair (baskets).

bophrim: the work of pounding rice.

bopla: tadpole.

bor: support, prop; string used in ritual. bor goak: heap earth around (maize stalks, over potatoes). u bor kroatiu: he has become established (of poor man)t

boro, AS bhorō: frog.

bōsa, bōso: very large variety of lizard (eālak N).

boTpu: variety of bird (piurā N)t

bot- I B: come loose (of handle)t

brek-i: scratch (of chicken or opponent in fight); weed (field).

brekeiu: ghoral, wild goat.

brel: seed, seedling, semen.

brea-: taste nice, be agreeable or comfortable, smell nice.
brai-: feel cheerful.

broa: cliff, steep place.

broak-: aug of ches-.

broal: bad omen for undertaking.

bram-: grab, scratch. bram: handful.

bramu: buckwheat.

broa(ŋ)si-: separate after meeting. disperse.

brə-: buy.

breaŋ: pole for scraping wild honey from cliffs.

brepco: finger.

bret-: sell.

brē(t)-, bhr-: be lazy. brem: laziness.

brew, briw: wild rock bee.

briko: tears.

brokce: piebald (as black and white chicken)s

bro(k)ai-: become loose (as waistcloth, leaves on trees)s be opened
(of new jar of beer)s

brol: atiffness of limbs.

broluŋ: wall (of houses terrace).

briumeŋ: thin bamboo tube, used in manner of straw for drinking.

bubum: see bo-.

bu-: dry (over fire).

budium: white monkey.

buk-: pile up, pour in pile.

buklo, AS buplo: chick, young of any bird.

bul-: pull up (maize plants)s pull out (pig's bristles)s

bur: sugar cane.

burumakai: flying up.

burwa: grasshopper.

buŋ: mother's milk. bundo: prime of life, youth. buŋma: flower.

bup-: draw up (legs into crosslegged posture)s

burkhum, buTkhum: cave.

buakam, busiukam: firebrand.

buapas -po: friends

buy: head.

buyunga quoit of straw to support round-bottomed jars.

biurium: navel's umbilical cords

c

cek-: 1. know. cekca: careful. cenmoa(t)-: have (dream), see (in dream)
2. become hard, old, fully fermented. 3. dye. (For 2 and 3 cf
chipinu and chipnu N)s

cekpu: bird.

ceks-: shut up; break.

ceksi: kidney.

cencagrās -kriw: variety of bird (cibe N).

ceŋ: back (of body, also of space and time).

cōra: musk-rat (chucundrā N).

ce(t)- TB. (IB)s become verdigrised.

ca-: bake, burn, scorch.

cakhli: raw. Aug mukhli.

cal-: twist (as rope).

camsi-: play. camdo: plaything; game.

caŋko caŋko: firm.

caṇdilim: ready.

caps-: 1. TB (IB) leak. 2. TB be able to.

capset-: triumph over

car-: 1. fell, let drop. 2. smart (of wound).

cat-: put on top, add.

ceccere: partridge.

cel-: separate, sift.

cem: aunt (MyZs FyBW)s

cem- IB: rot.

cen-: teach.

ceplunma: flat stones.

cer: cock's comb.

cer-: split (trans)t

cet-: hang up.

ce(t)-: sift (e.g. removing small stones from beans).

-cet-: pretend, make as if to.

cewa, ceya, cea: Sherpa.

chek-: be cold (of food or natural objects)t

chekker, cheker: drying frame over fire.

chen-: put upright.

chēwe: bug (udus N).

char-: lay (fuel ready for fire). charsi-: be on point of bursting into flame or losing temper.

choāra, AS chārat goat.

chas-: spread, become abundant.

cheak-: take heart. ne cheaka: snap out of it (to one sunk in gloom)t

chem: 1. ceremonial enclosure, hunter's rough shelter, tree platform.
2. in kochem one day, u chemchemṇa sometimes.

chem-: 1. entice (shy child, woman, spirit at seance)t 2. empty completely. chemsi-: have very heavy menstruation. 3. prepare to weave.

chē(n/t)-: recognise, choose.

chepchewa: water dripping from eaves; area round house where it does so.

ches-: take heed, wake up, be intelligent. Aug broak-.

chet-: rinse.

chi-: sweep (floor)t wipe away (child's mucus)t

chil-: ripen (grain, fruit).

chip-: suck (marrow from bone), encroach on (another's land)t

chiT: bone marrow, magical substance.

cheocheoya: rich (as food containing much ghee)t

cheodeowa: animal fat.

chokcho: anger. Aug mōmo.

cheokep: scorpion.

cheol, AS cheola: affectation.

cheoms-: dance; hover (of hawk).

cheom, cheonka: very (as cheom jeopa). cheom yesa: shout loudly.

cheonewae wasp

cheorciu: storage basket hung from beams.

cheos-: be active, busy; be sufficient (of salt in food); be too hot (of sun).

cho(t)-: mix (fluids). cholon molon: all mixed up.

chiul: curse.

chium-: 1. accumulate, scrape together. Aug cham-. 2. make narrow (top of basket when weaving gaps between lines when writing).

chiuppaē chiupaē Ho chiubat: far off, distant.

chiupliu: small earthenware vessel used for feeding infants.

chiur-: nudge elbow; need doing in a hurry. dende eomuka chiurriu: he had to pay his fine urgently.

chius-: be late, slow.

chiute base of basket or vessels

cikhli, cekhli: intestines.

cikikpaē cikipa: flea.

cip: scrap, remnant.

cip-: press on, squash.

cir-: 1. drain, empty. 2. stack up.

cise uncle (FyB, FyZH)e

cok-: stab, poke, point out (with index finger).

cōlo: fish trap.

co(ŋ)-: put in place, build (bridge ladder).

ceo, ceocceo: child; -ceo: person as in Diuceo person in charge of the beer (at a wedding)e or expressing smallness, as in takpaceo. Cf ceosceo.

ceom-: begin.

ceomeceo, ceme: sister- or daughter-in-law (BW, SW).

ceop: outside (advb).

ceop-: collect.

ceopa b(e)-: watch stare at.

ceophium: banana shoot supporting wings of fowl placed in armpits of corpse.

ceor-: filter.

ceoscea ceoseo, ceoceo (cf ceo and kiki): some, a little.

ceot-: (in basketry) put in additional weft so as to enlarge diameter of basket

cukcupo, cukciupos variety of bird (whose cry is cuk cuk cuk ...).

cukurim: finger ring.

ciu: thorn. ciuciya: sharp pointed.

ciuciu, caca, ceoca, ceca: porcupine quill.

ciulbi: needle.

cium-: catch.

ciūma bean.

ciunciu: squatting, IV 3.42.

ciundiulium: filled measure, as of grain (pāthi N?).

ciup-: cover, catch (chicken) under inverted basket overturn.
ciupteme AS ciubdem: hate covering.

ciur- TB: become wrinkled

ciurbi, ciuribiu: wild swallow.

ciusiu: grandchild.

ciūsiu: strawberry.

D

De, Dēla: up, above (closer than hala).

Deks-, deks-: let fall, fall (as Demeimu).

Dela AS: musk, musk deer.

Da, ra: st, to. IV 4.1, III 3.52. Dam IV 2.4.

Doa loom.

Dams-, cf dams-: mislay.

Dar- TB: meet. Darcimo: fever.

Doāse(t)-?: suffice.

Dat-, AS dat-: call, shout to.

De, AS Dhe, e: is, III 8.1.

Deak-, Doak-: patch, cover, block up.

Dep: uncle (FeB, MeZH)t

Dep-: strike, hit, thresh.

Dēpa: denee, thick; rupee.

De(t)-: fill up; feed (baby with solid food)t

Dis- IB: lay. Di: egg.

Dit-: let go, leave; (+infin) cease.

Do, ro: III 7.82.

Dok-: swallow.

Dokpu: big, important.

Doksi: mango.

Doksok Doksok, d-: with a waddling gait.

Do(η)-: beat, thresh, pound.

Deo-: pick up.

Deoma: flour cooked into paste.

Deomar: brand, torch.

Du(η)-: drink.

Dunma, AStd-: much. Cf reak-.

Diu: beer.

Diul-: keep, support, maintain (animals, servant, aging parent)t
Diulciu: servant.

Diuliumca, AS diulumcat stick.

Diumla: tribal customs, religious heritage. Aug ridium.

Diunphu: variety of small snake.

Diup-: hammer, work (metal); play (musical instrument)t
Diumlun: stone or wooden pestle used in cooking.

Diut-: comb.

d

dē: thread, sequence, work.

detkci: chest (part of body)t

dekpu: Monal pheasant.

deksas Deksas AS Dheksas tree.

de(t)-: 1. irrigates add water. 2. ?clot.

da-, dha-: dig.

doak-: likes III 7.91. Aug khot-.

dakhopciu: skills knowledge (of medium).

dala: quicklys early.

dams- IB, TB: get losts be defeateds lose.

danxhoms -kum: bamboo jew's harp.

dayonma, damyonmas wide basket with low edges for drying grain.

de, AS De: share, helping (of food).

del, D-: village.

delas Delas AS deola: drum.

delciu: son-in-law (DH).

delphu: courtyard.

dem-: 1. tread on. 2. (AS deom-) invoke, recite ritual)s

dems-: be filled.

dende (from DaNDa N)s fine.

dēnem (arch)s barn.

dep, dhep, dew: place, as in kokó dheps here and theres debdēs flat ground.

'ders nails claws hoof.

det-, dhet-: prepare to receive, hold out (hand, plate etc) for.

detpa: flat (of sleeping area).

dhaliu, dhayu, dhoara, udhali: down, below.

dhoamu, dhamu: sky.

dhekoŋ: much, a lot.

dhendras AS dendara (arch)s tiger (esp as bugbear).

dhiupas diupa: long.

didimo: white ant.

dīka, dika: tomorrow. diphu: later (weeks rather than minutes).

dil-: roll up.

dim (?dium): strength, in u dim baTpa, entire, undamaged, still flourishing (of freshly cleared farm land, of uncracked pot, of living plant). dim dim liu-: have the edge taken off one's hunger.

din: pool, lake.

dindiri: heel.

diphu: see dika.

diya, diwa: vexed.

do: III 7.84.

do, du: season, time. u du lesta: his prime is past.

dodikham: firefly.

dokha, Ho dokhon: a little, IV 2.34.

dokpon: red leech.

dos-: move. dodo: out of the way with (as dodo i khel)t

deo: stead, place; model.

deo-: share out.

deolet AS Deoli: deformed; thieving spirit.

deop-: taste.

deo(p)-: be shining (of sun or moon); appear.

du: grounds, cause; ham dutham De burna: why are you angry? -du: place (where something grows)t

diudiu: milk.

duk-: 1. be hot (to the taste)t 2. Aug of yes-.

dun, AS diuna: liver.

dundu Tingla: shoulder.

du(t)-: strike.

diu-?: make up (after quarrel)t

diukha (from N): suffering.

diume-: bet be finished; dium: zero, IV 2.21.

dium-: be long.

e

e: they say, III 7.81. yes, ist cf De.t =i 2 sing possessive adj.
etha=atha: now.

eak-: tear.

em-: warm, roast.

er-: fell, knock overt(= ter-)t

es-: defecate.

g

gaks-: be born. geksiuma: woman in childbirth.

gen-: sit.

gente, gəŋgəŋya: crooked.

get-: take (vessel) off fire and put down on ground.

goak-: give.

goalt sweat.

gam-: 1. be tight (of stopper). li gamDa: he won't open his mouth.
2. set (of sun)t

gāpu, goāpu, AS gagakpu: crow.

gar- IB: refuset(+ infin)t

gele, ugele: up, upwards.

gelont gelunt charcoal.

ger-, gersi-: be happy.

geas/t-: open (of crack).

ge(t)- infin gemu: come up.

gē(t)-: look after (plants)t cultivate.

ghercin, gherchin: instant, II 1.23.

ghap-, gap-: bind (e.g. knife handle or broken edge of basket).

ghloas-, ghleas-, AS gloās- IB: win. gukuram ghloastat he defeated us.

ghlēs-: be left over.

ghlomi: hen.

ghleom-: hatch; keep something warm (inside one's clothes).

ghleōs-, gleōs-: be scalded and peel, be sunburnt, run (of dye).
gleoglem: hot.

ghrek-: gnaw.

ghram-: despise, regard as dirty and disgusting.

ghroat-: jam, be stuck.

ghret-, gret- TB: fit, suit.

ghrē(t)- TB: be constipated.

ghrim-: shrink (of wound)s

ghrok-: throw.

ghro(t)- IB: coincide, clash (of two events)

ghreo- TB: suit, be tolerable to or liked by.

ghreom- TB, kreom-: meet.

ghriu-, AS ghru-: burn (intrans) (of wood or flesh), be heavy with sleep (of eyes).

ghruk/(st)- IB: hurry while doing something (infin + ra).

ghrium-: be tired and/or hungry.

ghriup-: be angry with, worrys attack.

gigime green.

gikpu: variety of poisonous snake.

gimo: green fly.

giaeolpai femi-ma ill and weak.

glenglenyas greasya thick (of fluids).

go-, gu-: in spatial adverbs as gonu: within, dhaguiu: lower downs
agoDa: here.

gōjius wombs lap, abdomen. gōjiumas pregnant.

gol-: be cold, be numbed.

golmu, -mo: fold in clothing for carrying things pocket.

go(t)-: warm.

gom-: look afters help (orphans or aged)s

gonḡayonma, genḡayum: daddy-long-legs.

gōseo (cf gōjiu)s thoracic and abdominal contents.

gotheors deaf and dumb.

grekpu: pheasant (kājil N)s

gra: parrot.

grawa, graywa: crab.

grakmu: very small variety of ant.

grem, groaŋ, greaŋ: branch.

grenemš ghrenem: nettle.

gringriŋya, grilili: welling up.

gro: 1. wild goat. 2. cymbals.

grokpu: cock.

groktaluŋ: rocky outcrop.

greoleop greoleops greoleomaksi: rolling over and over.

gropmo, greokmu: wallet (jābi N).

grūla: cookings meal. grūsikpa jāsikpa: one who cooks and eats selfishly by himself.

gu: nine.

gul- TB: cloud over.

gum-: bend.

gundiuriu, AS gondiuyu: throat.

gupsiu: tiger.

guri: cane (bet N).

gurma: mat.

gu(t)-: put asides put away. gumsi-: depart (of illness)s

h

hek-: cut (grain)s harvest.

helbo: child's parent-in-law. heliu, helliu: wife's brother.

hem-: 1. spread out. 2. steal (small objects)s

hen-: be sharp (of blade)s

hep: lord, master.

het-: 1. fill. 2. clear (land of forest)s

ha- (hu-, he-): 1. in spatial adverbs as hala (=ala) up, above, hano across, hayu down, below. 2. in hama and so, and then; hala if so, so then.

hoak-: open (trans) (door, container, mouth)

hakama: yawn. h. beTṇāri: I yawned.

hal (cf wal-)s in hal husta the hot season has started. halset-: heat slightly, half-cook.

halam: time, occasion, stage of ceremony.

ham: what (primarily interrog). To introduce yes-no questions ham gani meoDDa ṇaddo rotiTni have you been there before? hamam humuṁ, haham huhum something or other. hambo anything. hamko how many, how much; hamko jeopa how beautiful! hamei when (in the future)s hamsiuma what is it? hamtha, hamta with what in mind; why? hāwo, hawma why? cf he.

hap-: catch (=bhap-)s

hapa: very, very well. hapa bliuTniu: let it boil very thoroughly.

har: concord? in har me ghreom there is no agreement.

har-: clear out of one's way, thin out; stir (thick mixture)s

hat-: spill (fluids, grain)s

hoa(t)-: sting (as insect)s taste pungent (as unripe tubers or greens)s

he: what, what sort of thing. heka, hesaka, heṇa how, why. hello, helo, AS halo when (in the past)s hem who, which. hepma, cf hop.

heak- (=kheak- 2): hang out (as washing on bushes)s tie up (dog)s heamsi-: hang over one shoulder and under the other. 2 AS be angry withs?

hel(s)-: divert (irrigation stream)s

hep-, hem-: 1. cut across, pass (a ridge)s conduct (spirit of deceased to land of the dead)s keep away (evil spirit)s hemsai-: keep oneself safe. 2. hep- (like bhop-)s reach round.

her-: prop. turn on side. herherya: lying on its side.

heat-: 1. distil (raksi)s clarify (ghee)s 2. TB die, die down.

heyonwa AS: waist.

hibli cobli: like a dreamer or one groping in the dark.

hidimu, -mo, hikimas hiccup.

hik- infin himu: addles V 1.31.

hik-, yik-: turn round, grind (grain on handmill)s

hikitem: spleen.

hil(s)-: mash, squash, stir (as nettles when cooking them)s hilte: runny, thin of fluids.

hila: question.

himma, himba: labour pains.

him/p-: smell (trans).

hip-: 1. cut, cut down (tree)s harvest (rice or grass with toothed sickle)s give one a feeling of constriction in the throat.
2. (?=hit-): scrape, shave (bamboo)s

hir-: stir backwards and forwards as when cooking DhĩDo N.

hisi: aug of hila.

h̄isi-: fit (of clothes, of contents in container).

hiw, hibu: variety of evil spirit.

hok-: shout loudly.

hok(s)-: peel, strip. hokte: chaff. hoksium: outer layer, esp broken eggshell.

hol-: open; end (ritual prohibition)s

hollium, honlium, henlim: bow.

hom-: swell (intrans)s homte: plump. hopciumu: boil, swelling.

hombu: in atheohombu at, to this side, hunuhombu across, to the other side. Cf hep- 1.

homeis AS hobomsi: cucumber.

hōmu, AS wēmu (noun)s bear.

hop, hom: sort, manners like. hom bom basi: this is how we must act.
hepma (AS heopma): what sort of. AS mehopma: of that sort.
Cf III 7.32.

hop-: drinks sip (non-alcoholic beverages).

hopto: empty.

hor: stalk of banana leaf.

hor-: open (trans), uncover, hatch, strip (maize cob).

hot-: blow (trans)s pierce, stab. hosiwa, -pa, -ya: hole.

hu, AS wes sesame.

hu-: v. ha-.

huk- IB: 1. run outt finish. 2. barkt

hum-: drop. humsi-: fall.

hu(ŋ)-. AS "wamu": enter (house, water)t climb into (tree)t

hunGursa: large bat, or nocturnal bird of prey (hucil N).

hup-: wrap up (baby). humye: wrap, cloth worn over shoulders.
humsi-, AS hensi-: take such a wrap.

hur-: fan, make draught (for fire, to waft away evil spirits)t wash
(hair or head)t hurumaksi: rapidly, of flight.

hus-: last out (of supplies)t

hut-: 1. IB, TB fly. 2. burn (mouth or eyest of chili)t

i

i: in possessive adjectives.

im-: bear, suffer t tolerate with difficulty.

impi: see yumpi.

ip- TB (cf hip-)t be made to gag (by spice)t

j

jeks-: break (intrans)t

jenga: variety of edible gourd (toriyo N).

jenjeŋo: in j. doak- look forward to.

jajakom, -kum: bean.

'jal: mouse.

jal-: be warm; feel enthusiastic.

jam: cooked rice t food. boājam: pig food. Cf manja.

jan, ja: lungs.

jar-, jhar-: fall.

jasi: intj. liu- desire (food t women)t

ja(t)-: graze (trans)t jamsi-: cf s.v. grūla.

jāwat peacockt

jeaksi: bad death, unnatural death (j. b(e)-). jēlam: unnaturally (of dying)t

- jel-: be split.
- jem: small bushy weed. jemceo lunceo: bastard.
- jem- IB, TB: hold seance.
- jepser: wheat.
- jer: loan (e.g. with interest, longer term than lokha) (riN N).
- jer-: be thin. jeronge: a thin person.
- jēra: lizard.
- jērem, jh-: rib (human or animal).
- jes-: speak, sound.
- jet-: hold, take grip, prevent.
- jē(t)-: last, endure, survive (of people or things)s
- jew (cf jau N): barley.
- jhoak-: glitter.
- jhape-: be possible. mi jhapa: intolerably severe (of girl's mother-in-law)
- ghar-: sprinkle (in ritual), let blood fall upon. Cf jar-.
- jheak-: cut, notch.
- jhips-: rot, become smelly.
- jhira: bold, enterprising.
- jhiur-: be sour. jiujiur: variety of bitter fruit (amilo N).
- jiber, AS jiwer: bamboo matting.
- jijiwa, Ho jijin, jiji liupa: sweet.
- jil-: coat (earthenware pot with resin to prolong life).
- jilem: wrap of coarse cloth thrown over shoulders.
- jim, ji: slough of snake.
- jims-: as in a seo j. I feel satisfied, pleased in myself.
- jirpa: thick and close-meshed (of basketwork).
- jit-, jhit-: make wet, moisten; sow (rice or eleusine seeds in seedling bed
- jon: leprosy. Aug bilam.
- jo(η)-: lie across (as bridge). jonjonpa, Ho jonpa: straight.

jo(t)-, jho(t)-: 1. plough. 2. asp with certain verbs of motion.

jeol-, jiul-: place, keep, put. Common as asp. jeol, jiul: food left over for another occasion.

jeon-: start to grow or increase (of cold weather, of a sore).

jeop-: be beautifuls nice. jeomai-: behave in proper generous style.
jeop, jeo: right (as opp. left)s

jeor-: ooze out, leak. jeorpa: juice (from fruit)s fat (exuding from cooking meat).

ju: wind, breeze, cold. juceo muceo: bastard.

juks-, jhuks-: jump.

jiujiu: tip, top. jiujiu li: front teeth. jiujium AS: sharp.

jiut- TB: use (sun) to warm (usu. oneself)s

jiura: broken fragments of rice grains.

k

kecerpo, AS ke-: hoopoe.

kek-: dig, peck, bite (of snake)s kektali: hooked stick.

kekhrims kekhrims krokhrims khrekhrims AS cekhrems ladder.

keks-: give birth to.

keksa: squirrel.

kel: face.

kel-: v. kol-.

kən: pus.

kenka: (or kenken) calf bone; (or ken sa. Ho "kwōnko") ridge, the high mountains.

kep-: thatch.

kerpos wild cock.

ket-: poison (bird, evil spirit)s

keti (cf -thi)s only a little.

ka: ergative, instrumental, adverbial suffix III 9.22, III 3.54; with imperatives III 7.84.

koa: earth.

koak-: be overaalted.

kakarca, karca, karcali: fish-hook.

kakayu, kakayuyu: morose, despondent. kakayonma: worn down by use (metal object).

koakciṇel: snail.

kal-: mix (flour in boiling water).

kalatiup, ko-: naked.

koalba: fight, wrestle.

kalbuṇ: stones in fowl's stomach.

koali (+ka): on back (of sleeping position).

kam-: chew. kamli: back teeth.

kamso: song.

kanapeper: earwig, cf kānekirā N and per- (from forked tail like tongs).

kap: vessel.

kap-: 1. give more of. 2. TB break off, stop for breath (when talking, laughings crying), go out (of fire), die (of person).

kar-: forbid, hold apart, stretch (warp while weaving).

karti: bundle of wood used as torch.

koa(t)-: put (pot) on fire.

ke: vegetable or meat eaten with rice or other grain usually from separate plate (tihun N). -ke: suffix in names of various plants eaten in this way.

keak-: crack (trans), break open. keaksi: soya beans.

kekem: black.

kep-: sting (of nettless bees), brands stick, afflict (of disease).

kemai-: stick together (of two friends). kekepciu: burr.

kepcimo: illness with shooting pains in trunk or abdomen.

khe: husband; intercourse. kheṣṭa leka-: elope with a man.

kheca: small basket on four legs (Dālo N).

khel-: shift, transport, move (something heavy).

kher- (N): parch, cook (dry or in oil).

kha AS: III 7.84.

khaba, khawa: cotton.

khoācep, khoamcep: belly. khoācepnuṃma: pregnant. khoadium: wish, desire. ?AS kham = habit.

khakharba: earthenware bowl.

khoak-: cross, step over (someones legs, barrier or edge of field)s penetrate (flesh)s pierce (ear lobes)s inoculate.

khoakmo: mucus from chest.

khoakraṇ: Arum lily (bāko, sāpko makāi N).

khoakti: miserly, mean.

khal-: express (oil), churn (to make buttermilk)s

khalamba: cold, head-cold.

khalaṇte: naked.

khalem: ant.

kham-: embrace.

khap-: begin. diummu kh.: have almost finished.

khari: unirrigated fields.

khase: cloud. Aug muse.

khat-: pursue vigorously, chase after.

khaw: earthenware cooking pot. khawlun: money.

kheak-: 1. be scorched, burn. 2. (=heak-) hang up.

khel: leg, foot.

kheaṇ-: put (something) on its side; lean sideways. kheaṇsok kheaṇsok: limping.

kher- TB or IBs: be in trouble. khere khere: in desperate straits.

khes-: taste bitter; feel bitter.

khet-: carry up, bring uphill. eam kh.: breathe.

khiciuli: elbow.

khilam: ghee.

khis: gall bladder.

kip-: 1. tighten. loa khipa: close-fisted. 2. ASs= khipnu N.

khipsi: water dripping from eaves.

khir-: turn round, twist together.

khlek-: follow, trace.

khls(t)- or khrlsŋ-: lay out (corpse).

khlam-: spoil, bewitch.

khlep-: peel, shave off (thin slice).

khlewa, khleya, AS khleba: dog.

khli: faeces.

khli-: plant (seeds, seedlings)s

khlok-: turn over, turn round, return.

khleo-, AS khlo-: help.

khleomu, AS khloimu, Ho khle: moon, moonlight.

khluk-: take out, extract.

khliumsi-: put on (shoes or shirt)s

khliut-: shut, lock (door)s

kho: axe.

khok-: cook (trans)s

khols, khotle: all.

khole: broth.

khom: place (in a few phrases and place names). ?cf khop III 3.57.

khomi: sow, female pig.

khomjeol: goitre, crop (of birds).

khop-: collect, gather. khoms-i-: form assembly.

khor: barrier. boa khor: pig sty. gupsiu khor: tiger trap.

khorba: wooden or earthenware bowl, cf khakharwa.

khor-: 1. wead. 2. snore.

khoroŋba: rim (of basket).

khos-: be full, have had enough (to eat)s

khotokpa: lower leg, leg of meat.

khre(t)-: freeze, turn to ice.

khrap-: lament, weep. Aug jip-.

khre-: destroy, cause havoc (of rough children, witch)s khrecimo,
khrecemu: aching joints.

khreak-, AS khrok-: be angry with.

khrem: complement of a pair.

khrep-: 1. cover. 'khrem: covering. 2. twist (strands of rope)s
loa kh., muliu kh.: reach communal decision. khremsi-: gather
(for ceremony)s

khrēs-: be wicked.

khret-: bite, rend, nibble.

khrim- TĔ: close up, become smaller (of wound)s

khriup-: turn over in mouth (rather than chew)s

khu-: steal. khuciubo, -wa: thief. khuciulam: short cut.
khuymiksei: sidelong.

khuk-: be bitter (of raksi). Aug mel-.

khu: bird associated with death (koili carā N).

khumsi-: put on (hat, ghum N). khumbu b(e)-: kneel forward leaning
head on ground. khumbuka oms-: sleep in this posture.

khundium: v. kodiwi.

khu: back edge (of kukri), hoop at top of basket.

khur-: shave, scrape. khukhurca: scraper, razor.

khuruk, AS khuriup: handmill.

khusem: white hairs.

khut-: rub, polish, turn over (grain, etc while threshing or pounding);
kindle (fire).

ki-, AS "kimu", 3 S past kimdi (?stem cons): stretch, tighten (skin over
drum)s kimsi-: stretch (one's body)s

kik-: tie knot.

kikchium: discussion.

kiki: a few, just a little. kikim, kiceom: small. kiceo, kiceo,
kico: somewhat.

kil: bird lime. kil-: catch (birds) with k.

kiṅkiṇya: all in due order (of threading beads, of debts carefully remembered); k., kiṅko kiṅko theos-: listen attentively.
kiṅkiriṇ: tie, e.g. for fastening shirt.

kir-: economise.

kirikmo, kirimo: smallish variety of cricket.

kirim: plug in hole at bottom of jar.

kit(s)-: cut up, reduce to small lumps (meat for cooking), shred (of mice nibbling canvas shoes).

klek-: smear, anoint, rub on.

klet- TB: be left over.

klēta: stony place.

kleot-: bend.

kleot(s)- TB: make mistake, fail to do (something).

kleots-: scour (vessels, usu with ash)s

klium-: bury (corpse, money)s

ko, koṇ: one. Cf IV 2.35, 6, dhekoṇ. koyo(ṇa): together.

ko-: pierce.

kōceoy: mongoose.

kōdiwi, kodiumbi, kundim, khundium: wooden hammer for threshing.

kōdo: scarecrow.

kodiumar (arch)s continually (of pain hurting)s

kok-: 1. strip. kokte: skin, bark, peel. koksa, koksoro: skin (on heated milk)s crust on cooked food. 2. crush, pulverise (e.g. salt)s hammer (e.g. bamboos so as to split them lengthwise)s kōsi-: be reduced to dust (of over-pounded rice)s 3. follow (trail)s

kokci, kōciukas kōciuwa: knee.

kokcium: small vertical wooden mortar (for grinding salt or chili)s

kokopco (cf kək-): wooden hoe.

koks-: raise, lift, hold up.

kol-: 1. (or kəl- II 5.2) be large; in the obscenity ismam kolpa.
2. drive offs drive away (e.g. birds from freshly seeded rice field)

koli, -iu: upside down.

konsi: pillow.

konmi: others some (aru N)s

kor-: gives send (of gifts)s korsa. AS korsims: present.

kora: thirst.

korceoms flat wooden stirrer used in cooking implement for scraping honey from cliffs.

koreom: insk. bemsamu scorch to death.

kōro: landslide.

korotiup: wild cat.

kōai-: become dust.

kot-: splash (with beer from gourd - a ritual act).

kre: basket.

krək-: scratch (as with nails).

kros, kra: perineums bottoms crutch.

kroak-: cram (esp a person with food).

kraṅkraṅya: lame.

kres(ṅ)/k/(ḡ)-: be stunted fail to grow.

kri-: take (person) with one.

kricuṅ, kriciu: seesaw.

krim- TB: shut (eyes).

krip-: cut (ropes nails, hair, route of access for evil spirits top off pile of grain being measured).

kroDi: maggot.

krok-: poke (into earth)s stick in, plant (something rigid as pole, hearthstone). krokpa: bumpy (of sleeping surface)s

kreol-: 1. select (e.g. largest potatoes from a plate)s 2. shave (surface of bamboo).

kreom-: meet, go to meet.

kreoms: tick (on dogs or cattle).

kreoms-: be ashamed. kreom liu-: feel ashamed.

kruk-: roar.

krium: hunger. kriums-: be hungry.

krium-: bend, bend round.

ku: water, spring, sap, juice, white (of egg). kutha leks-: go to fetch water.

kubi, kuwi, kuyi: green pigeon.

kubi: intk. deksa forest.

kuDi: porcupine. kuripo: freak chicken whose feathers stand on end.

kuk: mother's brother. kuri: wife's natal household, aug mada.

kuk-: knock, bruise, tap (egg to break it). thresh, beat (drum), scold, be angry with. kūsicci: they remained unreconciled.

kumsi-: bend, bow down. ceṇ kumsipa: hunchback.

kuppi: 1. (or kukpi) forehead. 2. AS cuckoo.

kur-: carry.

kurwa: ritual knowledge, lore.

kutiuma (cf kuti N child's word for dog): puppy.

kuyku: smoke.

1

'le, let-e: leech.

lek/(t)-: take.

lekca: neck.

leks-, older Deks-, dheks-: go.

leka- TB: transfer smell to (as muskrat to flour).

leṇtkham: yeast, ferment.

le(t)-: wait for, hope for, guard.

-la: up at, up to; if; forming verbal nouns III 7.2; after imperatives III 7.84.

loa: 1. word; language, conversation. Aug of jer. 2. hand, arm.

loak: younger brother.

loak-: put in raised position, offer up.

loakceo: in u 1. baTpa cheerful, open-handed.

lalam: red.

loalan: necklace.

lale, -i: courting, aug buli.

laliums 1. AS bodice. 2. (obs) in 1. set- boil water.

lam, lamdiu, labdis path^s way. lamdi-: walk. lamcakas lamciuka:
main door. lankhra: cross roads. -lam: from; -lanka: via, IV 4.1.

lam: time, as in kolam once, hapalam often, kokolam sometimes.

lam- TE: come out in facial rash; be useless.

lama (cf lāwā N)s meal, flour^s Aug kuma.

lamsiusiu: smell from armpits.

lamceo, AS ulance: bastard.

lapcherwa: the four or five close woven horizontals at top of
carrying basket.

lapter: wing.

laptiuper (obs)s winnowing fan.

loas-: see, receive, obtain. loabet-: show.

lasa: semen.

lat-: in ke 1. scoop up stew (esp with Deoma)s

-loa(t)-, -lea(t)-: asp, sometimes expressing decisiveness and completeness

le: in le mālā N ancient bead^s no longer obtainable.

le-: cohabit with.

-le: IV 2.24.

leak-: wash (vessels)s

lekoakti: testicle.

leaks-: flourish, grow well (of plants)s

lem-: be sweet; lempa: sugar. flatter, seduce (woman)s, comfort (mourner)s
calm (angry person)s

-lem: day, in kolem, nelem; kokolem some days.

len- TE: be dazzled or tired (of eyes)s

le(n)-: strain (dregs of beer).

lep-: 1. lick; lem: tongue. 2. lay, put in place (fulcrum. wedge)s

leāsi. AS lenaksi: banana.

let: eight.

let-: 1. (of spirit) possess (medium). 2. ?make (child) excretes excrete.

-let-: be engaged in, III 3.52.

li, liu: tooth. gupsiuliu, khleyaliu: canine.

li-: reheat (Deoma, adding water)s

liciu: Chetri or Brahman.

lim-: sprout, come up, survive (of plants). lim: sprout, shoot.

lin: bow.

lip: pot, jar.

lis-: be heavy.

liser: eleusine (kodo N).

lisi-: pretend. lekpa l.: pretend to go. Dokpu l.: adopt presumptuous
airs. limas lie, fib. lima thet-: lie.

lit-: suffice; reach (an age)s linbet-: accompany.

liw, AS libu: bamboo.

liwas AS leba: quiet.

lo: large green frog.

-lo: times as in beplo old age. III 7.31.

lōda, AS loDa: large boulder.

lok-: render auspicious.

lok/t- TB: boil.

lokhas loan (as for a few days, paico N).

lokhro (obs)s basket for storing cooking implements.

lōkil: boundary (between fields).

loks-: dig up, rout around in. lokpas pig.

loms-: play.

loṇ-: jerk upwards (load, to ease back). loṇsi-: shoot up (of growing
child)s lose temper.

lopuṇma, AS lophuma: cockchafer larva.

lōsiu: hail.

leo: spirit, as in a leo damsta I was startled.

leoba AS: soft.

leolam: voice.

lu: lying, deceit. Aug phele.

luk- IB: emerge, cross (river)s, come out (blood from cut, tears from eyes)s pay a visit.

lumsi-: fall out (of hair)s die (of bamboo)s

luŋ: stone.

-luŋ, -loŋ: in expression of quantity, cf II 5.2.

luŋkhim: outdoor shelter for cooking rice in at large ceremonies.

lur: orderly behaviours as in i lurnuŋ baya behave yourself, u lur manthim disorderly.

luŋ-: grow fat (of human, piglet).

lursa: naked.

liu = li.

liu- IBa: feel, be affected (by physical or mental state) IV 1.4.

liukke: Arum colocasia.

lium-: cook lightly (meat or vegetables)s

liumdi: stew, rice and vegetables cooked together.

liumla: in 1. bet- instruct.

liup-: touch; add (yeast to beer); dub (e.g. potatoes in chili sauce).

liūsiu: khar N grass used in thatching.

liu(t)-: put on top, make addition to, make stronger and more prosperous. liumsi-: put on (extra clothes) on top.

m

meypu: quail.

meysa, AS meysa, cf make: ancient.

ma, -ma: III 3.55, IV 4.3; cf thama, hama; as final syllable in ritual vocabulary, it has no semantic significance.

mā: grain.

make, mayke: long ago, of old.

maksi: forming adverbs IV 3.3.

makte: Nepalese shirt.

mal-: look for; seek for means to. malsi-: get a little better (of sick man

mam: mother (human or animal)s; grain of rice remaining unhusked
central bulb.

moama, mama: careful, cautious.

mamtha: last year.

man/t-: kill (enemy)s

manthi: without IV 4.3, cf manja starving, not having eaten all day.

mar-: mix (yeast with cooked grain when making beer, or flour with
previously cooked dough before recooking)s

moasiu: 1. insem. b(e)- be angry or jealous. 2. (=moseo N) soot.

mat-: 1. = man-. 2. v. nima.

moa(t)- TB: be covered with soot.

mel-: unravel (thread), clear (way through jungle)s

melsi-: droop (of flower or person)s

'mer: tail.

mēsem: woman, female.

mi, me: not. ?cf manthi.

miksi: eye; holes in open-weave basket; khel ku m. malleolus.

miksipunta: eyebrow, miksiseom, -sem: eyelash. AS miksipa: Venus.

mikce nakce b(e)- (cf chē(n)-): mutually remember faces;

m.n. me damniu mey: let's not forget each other.

mim: 1. grandmother; seed potato from which new plant has grown;
(= māu N) insect that eats clothes. 2. III 3.32, 7.6.

mim-: remember, recall. mimtham (-tam) aug seortham: lost in thought,
= miṅko miṅko.

mina: interjection like kyere N used to fill gap in utterance while one
is looking for a words

mociu: woman.

mok-: use, take, borrow. mokpa: fool, layman (as opposed to ritual
specialist)s

mokotokce: unusually smalls stunted, short of hair.

mol: fool.

mop-: strokes caress (dog or infant)s flatter (to extort favour); aug
eeor- grope.

mopsiu: pubic hair.

mosium: area of house uphill of fire.

mo(t)-: rot as of piece of woods(= cem-); soak (bamboo strips to
render pliable)s

meo, me, mi-: that.

meosiu, miusiu, Ho mesi: buffalo.

mu: fire.

mukli: in lātā N m. vulture.

mukupas inem. b(e)- nod offe

muliu: discussion.

mun-: be created. munsi-: swell (of rivers)s spread (of skin lesion,
creeper)s

mundi: white ant.

mup-: cover with earth (as faeces)s

'mur: smell.

mur: itchy black particles around joints of growing bamboo. 2. mur
aug nar: relatives (?maternal)s

murmi, miuriumbis AS muriba: sword.

mursem: downs hair on neonates on arms, in armpits.

muyethemlas meyathemDa, AS muytham: in u m.sloa b(e)- speak in vain.

miuciu: mana person.

n

ne, nek: two. nehadda, AS negeDDa, nejeDDa: day after tomorrow.
nena: year before last, two years ago. naw: in two years time.

ne: mind, wish, good idea, intelligence. AS "nemu" = man parnu N. neri
(cf rim-)s giddiness.

nek- TB: stick in throat.

nektiu, naktiu: coarse soup, slop for animals. Aug siutiu.

nəmsi-: boasts be proud.

neŋ: name.

na: second person singular particle. siu na re: who are you?

naceor: enmity.

nakhli: nasal mucus.

nale: inan. sat-, bet-, Dat- teases irritate.

namdiuriu, namdi burwa: variety of cricket.

namnamsitamia wife. namnamceo: poor fellow (expression of sympathy for male or female)s

namnewa: bowl (kaTheuri N).

namphləm, nalphem: loop fixed to basket to hold tump line in place (kānā N).

namsi-: like, tolerate (being in a place)s

naŋguŋa naŋgum: rainbowa(= plal)s

nap-: squeeze, milk (cow).

nathepma: variety of caterpillar (labhre kirā N).

nat(s)-: crush.

nayme: wife.

nes -ne (= ta N)s mild adversative or emphatic particle.

'nem: day. nemphu: main part of the day. nemtha: dusks evening.
nemtom: all day long. Cf -lem.

nem: house, dwelling place (of bird, spider, evil spirit, etc)s

nem-: smell (intrans)s

nepcis neopcis brain.

nepauŋ: sun.

nəmsiu: plant with edible seeds (silām N).

nin: father's sister.

niphis nici: both.

nokcho: ritual officiant.

noksiu, AS nuksiu: monkey.

nophla Ho. nokphla, nephla: ear. nokciu: ear wax.

neo: nose.

neo-: hurt (intrans)g ail. neor AS: illness.

neobli, AS neobleo: arrow head.

neolae neram, AS neolam (obs)g soft.

nu, no: towards. gono: within.

nukceo AS: infant.

nun: together with IV 4.3.

niu-: be well, be right, be permissible. III 3.43, 7.41.

niuDa, AS neoDa (obs)g new.

niup-: VI 3.51.

2

nek-: stunte cut off top (of plant)s

-na (-wa)g IV 5.1.

naceo: old man, naami: old woman. naw: important man, elder of standing.

naddo, AS naDDo: before (of time and space)s

noakseo: lean red meat.

nal- IB: 1. be a nuisance, joke around. 2. wither, be half dried.
naljam: half dried firewood.

nali: face, appearance. Aug taki.

nam-: go blue (from cold, of bruise).

nar: whorl of hair at crown of head. narsem = Tupi N.

nar-: count. narma (= kacur N)g herb whose root is used in divination.

narkuwa (= kārān kuru N)g migrant bird.

ne: poison.

neak-, noak-: cover with earth or cloth; fill; catch (frogs, cf ciup-)s

nel-: as in seoka nelnari I am satiated with, nauseated by, meat, have had enough to last me some time.

nele: womb.

nemei-: rest (on journey). nelun: pause, interval.

nean: variety of fish (bhurā N).

net-: leave (place, person).

ṇīma: dream. jeopa ṇīma lawto or cetmatto: I have had a good dream.
Aug. sema.

ṇim/(t)/s- IB (TB)s fear. meoramDam go ṇiṇu: I am afraid of that.

ṇo: five.

ṇō: fish. ṇōme: warts.

ṇol-: knead, mix.

ṇom: pheasant.

ṇomsi-: awaken.

ṇopceo: assistant; (or ṇopso) neighbour. Cf Ho ṇepa: near.

ṇor-: 1. ponders be morose. 2. roar (of tiger).

ṇōsi: calladium arumaciae tuber (pīDalū N).

o

o: this III 1.11; otthas oDDas here; cf a and wa.

odi, wodi: thought, thoughtfulness, supposition. u odi manthim: careless, clumsy. Aug sari. toāku odisari bemsimu: be selfish.
hapawodi (formed on dheraijaso N); generally.

ok-: crow.

ol-: 1. IB rise (of sun). 2. TB chew cud.

ol-olṣ o-olya: sweet.

om- TB: ripen (fruit, grain)s

om-om: yellow. omri: yellow orchid (sunakhari N).

on-: run.

op-: strike, hit (with projectile)s fire (gun); rise (of sun).

or-: break off (maize cobs)s

ot-: IB, TB: swells be plentiful.

ōtheors AS ortheo, cf gotheor: half-witted.

pe: cultivated yam.

pes-: cool down (intrans)s

pakha: outside.

pakti: bat.

pali: next year.

palkoti: sweet potato (suThani N)s

palseo: calf of leg.

palun: fishing net.

pap: father.

par: sore, skin lesion of any kind.

par-: throw, discard. pargoak-: emancipate (slave before 1924)s
parjeo(t)-: overtake (and leave behind)s parjiul-: leave (place
or person)s

pasiurium: feather.

poa(t)-: fade away (of smell, dead spirit)s

pe: left (as opp right)s

p(e)-: eat.

peak-: 1. plait (hair, tump-line)s 2. AS break off. 3. AS be sour,
cf pheak-.

peaksi: interior (gudi N) of tuber; peaksi aug luksi: children.

pel: spirit, shadow.

peankun: cloth worn round body for carrying baby in.

per-: compress, press between two points. peperca: bamboo tongs.
per aug apta: trap.

pet-: allow to consume (e.g. give sick man fresh air). ku bante penmi:
where do they get their drinking water?

petakhlim: fowl's droppings.

phek-: raise, awaken, call up (spirits), collect (taxes). phensi-:
wear, put on (clothes)s

phel-: cut (tree, bamboo), kill (animal)s

phe s-: quarrel.

phet-, phot- IB: blow (of wind)s

pha ji: bag.

phoak-: divide up. Aug cel-. phoakcels -ceol~~s~~ fragment (of woods
dough-cake, cloth)s

phal-: spoil. phalsi-: collapse. u ne phalstas he is senile.

phar: side, bank (of river)s base (of tree or cliff), start (of story)s
quarter (of village); bam pharra in which part of the village?

phar-: cooperate at~~s~~ act collectively.

phas- (arch): come. -pha(t)-: in romphamu arrive.

phat-: exchange.

phatu: volumetric measure (mānā N).

phe: flat part of tump-line placed over forehead. Cf IV 6.3.

pheak-: 1. break by stretching. 2. be sour.

phea(k)so(k)-: shoot (with bow and arrow)s phepheakca: bow.

phele pheles phelem, pele pele: slippery.

pheaŋ: basket-works fish trap.

pheaŋli: wanton, indiscriminate.

phep-: take in lap (baby)s hold in arms (pile of wood)s

pher-: copulate (of birds)a

phet-: serve out (helping of meal).

phik-: pour, put in.

phil-: twist (skin off boiled potato, eye into squint).

philakpu: swallows martin.

phip/m-: suck.

phir-: sew.

phis-: go bad.

phit-: 1. bring across. 2. sharpen.

phlam-: disturbs confuse, spoil.

phloa(t)-: 1. put on (blanket, to sleep). 2. mix (two fluids).

phlem: see plem.

phlem-: hit (with projectile).

phlēs-: change.

phleom-: knead; churn up (mud)s

phlu(t)-: initiate.

phok-: slap.

phoka: ash.

phol-: stir.

phomus phemu: snow (noun)s

phop-: embrace, reach round (of string)s

phos-: vomit.

phosius phosips cheek.

phot-: sow, scatter, sprinkle.

phrek-, phrap-: scratch.

phroa(t)-: as in III 2.32.

phrēt-: economise, spread thinly (when planting seedlings)s

phro(t)-: undo, loosen, take off.

phriups rootlet.

phriup-: spray (water from mouths to moisten or as ritual act)s

phu: IV 6.4c.

phuciu: crawling insect; snake. Aug rokciu.

phuksium: beer just beginning to ferment; immature beer.

phul (prob N)s flour.

phul-: dig around in, rout up.

phum-: push, poke (brand further into fire, an object into pile of grain to hide it).

phun-: scoop towards one.

phunphunti: fat.

phurku: dust.

phursiu; frost.

phiurium: ginger.

phu(t)-: accumulate (e.g. wealth)s clot (of curds)s be lumpy (of Deoma)s

phuyuyu: lightly (of something flying away).

pi-: shatter, break.

pililim: thin (of cloth). pelem pelem: thin (of Deoma)s pelelem
(= mohor N): 50 piece coin.

pinte: ?ladybird (paterā N).

pīpu: weevil.

piser: tiny lice on fowls dog, etc.

ple: tear. p. lukta: he wept.

plekplaya: smooth, greasy.

ple(t)-: arrange ritual objects in front of an officiant.

plen̄kum plen̄kum: obstinate.

plal, pla: rainbow.

plal, poal, ploal: scarscrow.

plan: bedding.

plapsiu: dried secretions around eyes.

ploas-: forgets= ploamcemu. ploam: mistake.

pleak-: split (woods stone)s; blunt (blade)s

plem, plemte, phlem: flat. Cf IV 6.3, baphlēm.

plemci: reddish vetch (gahat N).

plep-: fold.

ples-: splash (as offering), propitiate.

plet-: 1. repeat, perform a second time (ceremony)s 2. displace
(ladder, bridge, making passage impossible).

plit-: ?masturbate.

plo-: become bitter of fermenting alcohol or angry man. plo(t)-: make
bitter. plo khet-: be angry.

plium: hornet.

plium-, AS plum-: submerge, sink, dip.

plus-, AS plus-: undo, loosen, take off. pliumseot- TE: flee.

po: chicken. seobdipo: wild fowl.

pōceor: shoot (of plant)s

polonci (arch)s measure of weight (dharni N).

polium: pit.

pon-: spread, give generously (of good host)s broadcast (a secret)s
tease wool. pomea-: have leisure.

popcoŋ, pomcoŋ, pompo: ridge, hummock.

popsiu, AS papsiu: pumpkin.

popte: short (of person, garment); tailless (of fowl)s wingless (of
insects)s

por: ?vagina.

preæiu: Kiranti.

pre(ŋ)- TB: be founded, instituted. pres-: form meeting, assemble.

proak-: mix together (different kinds of cereal or vegetable). prakce:
such a mixture.

proa(t)-: make bundle of s tie up in piece of cloth.

break- TB, IB: pop (of fire giving sparks, of spices frying)s give slap.

prok-: jump.

pronamsi: blackheads (on face)s

proŋjiu: spider.

preot-: pick, pluck (fruit)s tear off, tear up.

-pu, -po: in bird names IV 1.32; in place names IV 6.4.

pum-: squeeze. loa p.s make fist. pumci: handful. pumdels -dil: round
(adj)s ball (as toy)s pumsi-: huddle up with cold. pupulya, Ho
-ma: globulars round.

pumta: anus.

pup- TB: die.

pur-: wind (thread)s

pusium: plug, cover (on vessel).

put- TB: come up (of spring of water)s

puwaŋs large owl-like bird (koirālo N).

r

recha: is, III 7.83.

rek-: flap, shake (dust off a shirt, a basket to empty it), destroy (a reputation neŋ). resikpa: celebrated (in good or bad sense).
remai-: shiver (as sacrificial animal sprinkled with beer, the shiver signifying acceptability to deity), shake head (as sign of refusal). 2? propitiates, make offerings to.

rens horn.

re(ŋ)-: receive, take.

renrenti: empty (of vessel).

roa: intestinal worm; vexation.

roak-: 1. say. 2. stick in throat, cause to gag.

rakci: variety of nettle (bhāṅgre sisnu AS).

ram-: 1. scorch (maize cob, one's flesh). 2. wheedle, persuade, choose (bride).

rap-: block, make barrier.

rape- TB: spread (of sore).

raai: cowrie shell (used by gamblers).

rat-: lay claim to.

rawa, ra-ra, AS raba: almost.

re: IV 5.2. mere III 7.33. arewa (for -ŋa): thus; cf bhare.

recukupa: orphan.

rējis metal coin as used in necklaces.

reak-: 1. draw on (of day towards nightfall). duŋma reakta: it's late.
2. write.

rekemaai: fir cone.

rekhe: bowstring.

rel-: remove grains from (maize cob).

remdipo: adulterer. remdimō: rival wife, co-wife.

remseŋs tinder.

rep-: 1. look at, watch, look after.

2? rep-: lack, as mamka rēpa: motherless, khawlun kam reptam: short of money.

res/- : reach by stretching for.

resepma, reseya: unhusked rice.

re(t)-: detest.

ret-: bring by indirect route. retimu: accompany, take in person.

ri-: break, destroy (bottle); wipe out, nullify (deleterious consequences of sin).

rī: cross-sibling; married woman's natal home and agnates living there.
rīciu: man's sister's child. riw, rime: relatives-in-law (solTi N).

riba, riwa, riya, -rip, -ri: rope, cords fibre.

ril-: roll out (dough)s

rim-: twist, roll (cigarette)s AS rimmu: swallow.

rimo, rimu: boundary. Aug komsiu.

rinmo, rikno, riupmo, AS rukuma: a small fish (gaDerā N)s

rip-: 1. block (eep light, line of vision). ribjun, rimjun: shade.
2. sprinkle (flour onto water in vessel, salt onto food).

ris-: laugh.

risiwa: song, duet sung between youth and maiden.

riwsi, AS ribusi: violence, quarrel.

robon, rōwens variety of snake.

rōjiu: fern; bedding for cattle.

rok-: come circuitously; come (of future time). romthimu: reach.

rokom: rough, coarse. roknem: abandoned house.

ron-: parch, dry.

u ron: skeleton poles of cattle shelter or round house.

ronronya: bare and lifeless.

ro(t)-: snatch.

reobi: wild sheep.

reom, reop: body (human or animal).

reomjeo, remji: otter.

reops-: disintegrate, rust aways turn to dust, split (of skin of feet too long immersed in mud)s

reotpheo: vessel given in dowry.

reowae hornet (larger than plium)t

ru: six.

'ruku: divinatory faculty.

ruku, rukhu: forest fire.

ru(ŋ)- TB: shiver (from fever, cold, possessing deity), cf rek-.

riu: 1. sin. 2. handle, stalk of leaf.

riū: locust.

riup-: pick up, collect (clothes, grain drying in sun).

riup(s)-: cut down, fell.

riut-: 1. omit, pass over. 2. possess. afflict (of god, evil spirit, illness).

s

seak-, AS eiumu: thread (e.g. necklace).

seŋ: score AS; hundred. 2. wood, tree. u sēra ge(t)-: grow up (of
seŋt-: become hard or wooden.

seŋsenya: dilute, watery.

ser: *Panicum italicum* (kāguni N).

ses-: be cured, get well, stop (of rain)t

-ea: III 3.154.

soāca, AS eāca: I don't know. Cf III 8.2.

eaceko: chopping block.

sada: always.

eajile: variety of nettle (lekhāli eisnu N).

saju: fragmented grains of rice.

soak- TB: 1. choke. 2. * seak-.

sakhukhore, sawkhore: neighbours.

saki: trap for birds or small animals.

sakphar: root, tap root. sakram: very old indeed (of tree, animal, man)t sakteor: coarse (to the touch).

saksabiw: dragon fly. səksinel: variety of cricket.

sakterwa: variety of fibrous edible fungus.

saku, sāku: bamboo ladle.

sal-: 1. sift, remove foreign or superfluous matter from. salsi-:
become healthy after illness, be on way to riches and high status.
2. embrace.

soalaceo (from sālā N): youth.

sale: thread.

salendo: wooden implement for castrating cattle.

sam: breath; steam; sound (of symbals). samceo: weak respiration of
dying man. sama aug rima: full consciousness. normal faculties.

sam-: incubate (of mother bird), keep or store wrapped up.

samantokce: stunted (of person)s samsamya: thin (of people)s

eoan-: flee.

sapleptas sapleta: wood chips.

sāpu, sapu: bladder.

soar: split bamboo.

soārium, sārīm, siuriup: inss. bhap- pick up smell of tiger's or jackal's
urine.

sar(e)-: urinate. sarki: urine.

ea(t)-: become dry, dries up (of voice), become thin (person, cloth)s

eat-: give (in a few phrases cf sew)s -sat-: asp. do something for
someone.

'saw: tiger.

saw (sāu N): blacksmith.

sayla: whistle.

se-: saw, cut (as a piece of meat by moving it up and down against a
blade)s

seak-, soak-: winnow, castrate (pig)s seakseakmas -mu, saksara: sheath
growing from joint of bamboo (paTes N). seaseoms soaeom:
chaff.

sekre: sand.

sel: iron.

se1-: undo, rip up (seam)s release (ritual prohibition)s selsei-: take leave.

sēlam, Ho seblam: leaf, paper, rupee note; field, land.

selemphu, selephu: small flying snake.

sem: hair.

sema: aug of ṇīma.

seañ-: clean up, tidy (as house before ceremony)s

sep-: sharpen. semluṇ, samluṇ: whetstone. semlas -lo: mockery.

'ser, saear, saser: bone. Aug DaD.

ser: louse.

ser-: be numerous.

serjem: eleusine straw. -ser: ?crops.

serolo, seorli: jackal.

sēs-: fart. 'sem, sekhli: fart.

sēsi: pip, seed of fruit; lentil, bean.

set-: kill; extinguish (light), blunt (blade); intoxicate; finish off (in basketwork)s semsəṇ s.: lay in store of firewood for rainy season.

-set-: asp.

sew (sewā N): greeting, bow. s. sat-: greets s. re(ṇ)-: be greeted.

si: mouth, beak; edge of basket, entry to bridge. a ei me bre: it's nasty. Cf IV 6.4 kosi: mouthful, small amount of food or drink. eikokte: lips. eiseom AS: moustache.

si-: die. sitpu: corpse.

-si: in adverbs IV 3.3; in tree names IV 1.32. III 7.4.

sidimo: bag, pouch (jābi N)s

sikim: comb.

sil-: prick, sew (with sliver of bamboo, khilnu M).

sim: grain, ?weft (of cloth, meso N).

sim- TB: go numb (of limb in cramped posture)s

simbiw: variety of crane (bhūDiphorā N).

simte: slit-shaped (of eyes)s

si(n)-: teaches(+ infin)s sisi-: learn.

sintha, siŋta: night.

sip-: 1. scrape (outside of bamboo to make smooth, cf hip- 2). 2. dry up (of cow's milk, of voice)s, boil dry.

siptilim: filter.

sirimaksi (adv): gently (of breeze)s

sirsi-: split (of skin)s

sisi: blood.

-si(t)-: III 5.13.

sit- TBs: give fruit.

so: sambhar deer.

sō: 1. muscles, strength. sōrip: tendons veins (naso N). 2. variety of creeper with edible shoots (bhyākur N); slave, servant.

sōjam: metal bowl; money.

sok-: pay, take. somthimus AS somtimu: escort. somphamu: bring.

sokmos jungle.

sokse: monkey.

soŋ-: pack in, pack down (earth round base of pole)s

so(ŋ)-: as in nem soŋDa day dawneds go sintha soŋto I watched through the night.

sors husked rice.

sorku: dew. sorluns magical stones AS star. sorpikche: star; Orion's belt?

-so(t)-: asp, ? cf sok-.

seo: 1. meat, flesh. seo niupa: plump; cf jims-. seokhli: hunting.
2. in AS meseona = tesai N, tataseom III 1.5. 3. III 7.84.

seo-: say, tell. seomtimu: go and tell. seomdis -diu: storys slander, religious myth. seoseowa loas story passed on by word of mouth.
seosi: statements opinions a seosira in my view.

seobdi: jungle.

seobem: dough-cake.

seoki, seokhe: cough.

seol, seopsiuriu: fallen leaves.

seol: classifier (elongated objects) IV 6.2.

seol-: wash (body).

seom: fur. animal's hairs down on human skin; skin (of potato), pod.

seōmu (noun)s fly.

seo(n)si-: in passive constructions III 7.22.

seona: gold.

seop: edge. corners bank (of river).

seop-: wash (clothes). seoplun: stone by spring used for this purpose.

seophre: gecko.

'seors bee.

seor: solid particles in a fluid. seora: sieve for straining beer.
seorku thin fluid draining from wound. 2. ancestor's race,
prosperity, fortune.

seor- TE: 1. become dry, be ill, boil dry. 2. aug of mop-.

seot-: 1. bring down. shorten. 2. TE grow up. become mature.

seō(t)-: be defeated, loses subside. seos-: be well threshed (of wheat
etc) kām N seo-sa dium: work dwindles to an end. seoseoya:
calm again (after quarrel).

'su, sium: three. sūka: in three years' time. suhaDDa. AS siuneDDa:
in three days' time.

su, sū: large black wasp (bacchiū N).

suk-: push, moves jog, jolt.

suktium: shoulders shoulder blade.

sulumaksi (adv)s like a snake.

sunwa: cloudy. bitter (of beer).

siu: who.

-siu: in animal names IV 1.32.

siul: tracks trace, footprints bruise, temporary pressure mark on skin.
siupsiuliu bomu: follow trail by scent (of dog).

siul-: bury (in earth, deep in jungle, in pile of chaff). put in (extra
thatch at leaky point of roof). siulium: grave.

sium: in u siumDa bu it is fermenting aerobically (in basket).

siumbur: fungus lichen.

siumce, siumsiuma (kināmā N)s stew made from soya beans.

siumtila: fish insect.

sium- TB: become slim, drier; become less oedematous.

siuṅkhra, AS siumkhra: mortar, hollowed wooden trunk in which rice is pounded.

'siuṅkhra, seṅkhre: containers for household gods.

siup-: eat clean scrape out (so as to eat last fragments of food)s
lop off (branches)s siupsap: left overs.

siupel: gnat. Aug wapel, hoapel.

siupiloa: whisper.

siuputiul: dark

siur-: press (as wood into basket)s importune.

siurap siurap: getting in the way, being a hindrance.

sius-: itch.

siut-: strip; pull off (ears of corn); clean out (intestines by pushing water through them between finger and thumb).

siutiutiu, seteoteo: inss. b(e)- slide down slope on behind.

t

tek-: support (as cooking pot while stirring)s regale (guests with alcohol)s supplement (diminishing grain stocks with new harvest)s build up (one request on top of another, of beggar)s tekpa: solid (of meal that will keep one going a long time)s

tekpa: length of bamboo used as container.

takhokpa, takhupa: dead-fall mousetrap.

taki: hat (Topi N)s

tam-: make water collect in, add water to, soak. beaṅsira ku t.: flood paddy field.

ta(n)-: fall down (as when walking)s

tap: self III 1.5. utoakṇa besta: he behaved selfishly.

tat(s)-: scrape out, take out (yams from earths wax from ear, wild bee honey from cliff)s

tawa: scruff of neck.

ter-: knock over.

tet-: mix (one sort of flour or stew with another)s

thes 1. years in athes athece this year. ?cf tha. 2. evil spirit of unweaned baby.

then-: hide (as something in pocket)s

the(ŋ)-: stretch out (limbs)s

tha: in expressions of time. atha now, yet, still. mamthatham buṇu mim "I've been living (here) since last year. dikatham hu it finishes from tomorrow. thama later. Cf hamtha, du, ottha, khe, ku, wakha, rep-.

tha-: engage as travelling partner; oramlāi thawto I've arranged to go with him.

thoa: in u th. genDa the habit (or regularity of a phenomenon) has become established.

thoak-: knock (as stake into ground)s hammer; tap (filter containing beer to assist filtration)s thoaliums pestles stake for pounding rice in okhali N.

thakpuris thakkuris waist cloth.

-thal-: asps= wal-.

thakselele: facial pimples (said to be due to moon spitting when offended by too bright a torch)s

tham-: lose way, go astray. thamwalpa: vagrants one without house of his own.

than-: take in lap.

than̄ki, then̄ki: spittle.

thar-: set up firmly; establish (outsider as member of clan, someone as marriage negotiator)s

-tha(t)-: asp as in parthamu throw away.

thathaksi: two poles at end of loom.

that(s)-: take out.

theak-: kick.

thel-: peel (fruit etc with fingers)s skin (animal)s

them: upper part of tree, foliage.

thep-: pinch and twist (someone's skin as when teasing)s pick (leafy vegetables)s break up (lump of stale dough)s knock (chicken on back to break neck)s thems-: be bruised (after fall)s

theplo (pheplo N)§ cooked coarse-ground maize.

ther-: props lean up against. stand up against.

thet-: know how to, understand.

thethen AS, thette: amongs in middle of.

thī (?thiti N): price.

-this -ti: IIIe7.7; in expressions of quantity II 5.2.

thik-, infin thimu: be cooked.

thil-: exorcise, protect against.

-thi(t)-: 1. asp. 2. thimu AS: raise; this-: become recognised (of name)§ homsaka thistam how it got its name.

thok-, infin thomu: ripen; be ready to burst (of boil).

thok-: sew (without needle)§ join (leaves with bamboo splinters to make leaf plates)§ ornament (with stiff omri fibre)§ thomsi-: gather for ceremony.

thokla: segment of large diameter bamboo used as container.

-theo: towards.

theoms belly. theombuk. AS theombop: heart.

theomsomo: lizard.

theom theoms wobbly.

theon-: disturb (adult, of children)§ drive off (dogs)§ propel (boat)§

theo(n)-: give to drinks water (cattle)§ theōsi bomu or thenmu: help someone drink alcohol (holding vessel to their lips)§

theop-: measure out.

theor-: strike (as yal-)§

theor: confidence. go th. mi liungu: I don't believe it. theorsi-: be happy.

theos-: hear. theoteowa loa: hearsay.

thuk-: push lengthwise, poke (faggot into fire)§ instruct, appoint (new priests continuing the line), pap ku deora u ceo thumDi; establish (new bhume site); arrange (mosiume for ritual).
thumsi-: assemble.

thūnem: dense jungle thicket.

thiu: ?vagina.

thiup-: patch, darn.

thiur-: send.

thiurmu (noun): smouldering ashes.

thiut-: drag, pull along; spin (thread). thiusiTpa: close-fitting (of clothes).

tim-: 1. press, squeeze, crush (underfoot or with hand). 2. TE freeze, go numb with cold.

tok-: cf tium.

toksa, -se; tonba: segment of bamboo used as drinking vessel.

tophrim: close-woven basket.

tosi: bhume N ritual.

totheor (arch): poor.

teol: unlaidd eggs of killed chicken.

teol-: pretend to give (e.g. something to baby to distract it).

teopi (Topi N): hat.

teorciu, torco: vagina.

tuk-: stub (toe); have had enough of (some food); shout back. leolam tusta there is an echo.

tukus AS Tuku: jack fruit.

tukumci, tusiulium: dark (as unlit house).

tuktukur: dove.

tukur: beads.

tutumbi: large variety of chili.

tiu: dirt, poison.

tium: 1. inst. tok-: have doubt or suspicion, form opinion. 2. insect that eats paper and wool.

tium-: follows tracks trace.

tiūmaksi: gluey.

tiupli: noise (of someone approaching, of distant ceremony).

u

u: in 3rd person possessive adj.

ul- (= wal-)s heat slightly.

um-: 1. put (morsel) into mouth. 2. = ems-.

unadins olden times.

ur-: surround, crowd round (speaker); put round.

ut-: push, shove.

w

-wa, -ya: IV 2.33s III 3.32.

wa: elder sibling, elder brother. wadelme: elder brother's wife.

wacipula: earthworm.

waji: joke; aug wote, ote.

wak-: be lit, burns glitter.

wakha, wekha, wakhatham: quietlys gently.

wakpalta: in w-ka genmu, w. khir-: sit cross-legged.

waksi: mushroom.

waku: in w. bomu swim.

wal-: heats boil lightly.

-wal- IB, TB: do habitually (asp)s

wam: afterbirth, placenta.

wam-: prick, penetrate; trip over.

waŋ (arko N)s 1. differentse separate. waŋwaŋ: various. waŋmi: other people (= yaŋmi)s

wap-, AS (in part) wam-: scoop up (fluid). fill.

waTla, wankhokho: lonely, solitary.

wat-: sever at a blow, behead. wansi-: be too late for, miss.

waye: silent.

waytas AS -to: curse.

'waye: low country.

wo. o. AS bo: also, even IV 5.3.

wōs rain.

wociu. or bociu AS: husband.

wom- AS: heat.

wosceo, hosceo: male, man.

y

yek-, AS "yemu"s pulverise, grind up (as salt, chili).

ya: blade.

yācham: a cereal (uwā N).

yaciki, AS -ke, yam: tickle, feeling of being tickled.

yak-: 1. strike; lop (branches from tree)s castrate (rare)s yeka yeka:
all bruised. 2. give.

yakapta: lower jaw.

yakke: small.

yal-: strike, hit.

yan other (aru N). yanlo ... yanlo: sometimes ... but other times.
Cf want.

yarmi: knowledgeable.

yaw: seasons name of festival.

ye: garment. Aug sem.

yē: unirrigated field, land. Aug dā.

yecike: large bean.

yem-, yep-: stand up, shoot up (of plant, growing youths flower)s
yemcoŋ: young bird just able to leave nest. yepas high. u yemyem:
the top, the very top.

yeai-: shakes sieve.

yep. hep. hip. yupo. yēpu. yīpu: tump-line.

yeps-: be worn down (of plough tip, of a man's fortune)s

yepseŋs dead branches on a tree.

versi-: be highs be tall.

yes-: shouts make noises ring (of metal)s moo (of cow)s rumble (of
stomach). Aug duk-.

yet: seven.

yet-: call, summon, send for.

yo: salt.

yō: ritual prohibition.

yoji: chin.

yok-: come down; fall (of rain); be implicated (by divinatory procedure).

yol-, yul-: be in declines go bad, fade, be very ill. yolsi- be weak with age or hunger, be miserable.

yon- IB, TB: liquefy, melt; be made feeble by heavy use. yonggi yonggi, yonyonya: unsteady.

yops-: = reops-.

yors subcutaneous fat.

yor-, AS wer-: toss into mouth.

yot-: catches(= hap-)s

-yu: down at, down to.

yuciu, hiciu: pine marten?

yuk-: poke (e.g. metal spike on blade into wooden handle when making tool)s

yum: magical power.

yumpi: youngest of series of siblings.

yuns haze.

yup-: turn (as on a lathe)s make (out of wood or metal)s twist (feather in ear to remove wax)s

yut-: succeed in, manage to. Aug yat-.

APPENDIX I.

Names of trees and wild plants.

bemsa, bomsa: Tuni (for milk containers).

bennam: sādan.

bey saksi, beseksi, AS besasi: nebhārā (leaves for leaf plates; edible fruit).

bāsi: ghurmīs, ghurpis (twigs used at seance; sap edible).

batraṇsi: baṇseT.

belcasi: baṛrāTh.

belsasi: baṇseT, kāDe phalāT.

bimbilim: pippiri (leaves rolled up and used as whistle).

biwsa: hardi.

bokto, AS bopto: mauwā.

boṅgolsi: siṅgauTo (edible fruit).

bōsi: dār (for lathe-turned vessels).

bramusi: cari bhāṅgo (berries in large quantities intoxicate).

briumsi: kāulo (for making ritual glue).

buṅgolsi: siṅgerā.

bursi: uttis (carpentry).

buyem: odhāl (= hipsi).

buyemsi: mel.

cēsa: cilāune (for carpentry).

coāram, cēram: ghocne kāDa.

cekhra: māliṅgo AS. nigālo.

chekabuṇ: phurkephul AS.

chentar: pāni laharā (gives eye medicine).

cimei: phaledo AS (or phulphuTTā).

cirim, cerolim: bilāune.

coṅki, cōke: siūDi (cactus).

cukkur: cutro.

ciuriums curumphā (cf piṇmatibuṇ)s

ciuriubunṣ: kāDe phul (thistle).

Dors bhālu bās (large bamboo)s

damsi: kaījal.

daṇkhu: pāṇrā.

daṇkhuribunṣ balDheṇrā.

dilimase: ākurā.

dociṣ dociuṇar: small thorny tree.

gamba: nigālo (cane)s

gāli: paTmero.

ghraktam: ghorā khari (gives oil).

ghruksi: simal.

ghrusi: arkhaulō.

goldos AS -Do: kharāne (for house building)s

goṇgerwa. AS ghun-: kukur Dainā (for shaman's drum sticks).

guyo. AS guy: bharlāṇ.

hibunem: ghuṇriṇ.

hipsi: odāl (fibres can be used to weave hips(= yep)s

hirimi: variety of tree or bush growing on high ground with yellow flowers.

hodisis AS wadisis dudhilo (human placentae formerly placed in its branches to ensure mother's milk supply)s

holo: lāmpāte (for making drums)s

hondeoleom: khaereto (edible fruit)s

hiusiu. AS wiei: ciuri (edible nuts)s

jakhli: allo (gives fibre formerly much used for weaving).

jaweer AS: rudrācche (seeds worn in necklaces by shamans).

jēremsi: kāphal (edible fruit)s

jēsi. jesi: sāj (locally sās) (for kukri handles)s

kēkei: khuniū (edible fruit).

koātiups kātiu: majiTo.

khakcilik: khiruwā.

khamsi: āru (peach)s

khela: giThThā (edible root and seeds)s

kheli, AS khili: cireto.

khisa: lekhāli sallā (for torches)s

khultium: argeli.

khutiublam: buletre.

kicaksi: bhalāyo (cashew nut)s

koksiuriu: kūyal.

'kosi: okhar (walnut)s

kubilbuṇ: cāp (for carpentry)s

leheDams loāDam: dhaṇero, dhāyāru.

lāsi: jāmunu.

lenbuṇ AS: tite pāti.

lolem: gagleto (fodder for pigs)s

meDe, moDe: bhorlo (for leaf umbrellas)s

moāblams mālam: juge jhār.

mamayom: TaTalos Totelo.

mari: guyēlo.

moasa: bohori (for making bird lime)s

mencelem: bhimsiṇ pāti (? cf seomreo)s

moṇgolom: bhogoTe.

mundisi: baDār.

napethem: kimbu (mulberry)s

nars māliṇgo.

nuksiurici: kāg bhalāyo (pegs planted at four corners of house in protective ritual)s

oṇkrāsīs AS waṇkresi: candan (sandalwood).

pēysi: paīyū.

pākhle: ciple (can be used for washing hair).

patarangi: sinkauli.

pees phalāṭe bajrāṭh.

pharpa: amliso (for brushes).

pheaklim: phipiri.

phuksium: thākal (root edible).

pimasi: amalā (rather sour fruit).

pintesi: lapsi.

piṇmatibuṇṣ cirumphā.

pojhari: jhiṇni.

proakproaks kurilo.

remasi, reomsi: mirgauli, mirje.

rici: bhakimlo.

rudhelos rudilo: banmare.

seksi, soaksi: kaṭus.

saksi: harrā.

saṇkham: kāncirnā.

seesa: bājh.

sobu, sop: coyā bās.

seolam: sakhuwā, sāl (for leaf plates, carpentry).

seomreo: bhimsiṇ pāti.

seorchep: kāuso.

seōsei: āgerā.

taṇma: bankerā (wild plantain).

tente: cimeṣi and/or roḍiṇgo.

tēra, Tēra: gogun (small edible seeds).

thasa: sallā (for roof beams).

thoaktilam, thak-: phuṭṭā.

toplesi, toploksi: maldhīḍo or marelo.

yōcium, AS yociumu: ThoTne (stalks edible).

yoṇkhi: puwā jhār (bark used for fishing line).

APPENDIX 2

Adverbs of abruptness (IV 3.1)

blaŋ car-, ther-
bla tim- 1.
bloa dep-
bloaŋ juk-, phəl-
bloara deo(p)-
ble loas-
bo hip-, khop-, sam-, yak- 2.
brs khrap-
buŋ hum-, al-; ris-
cha grok-, kol-
ci pum-
cila yes-
cir thep-
cokho Deo-
ghls buk-
ghruŋ on-
hū phək-
huciu bək-
hur juks-
joŋ kur-, koks-
kho riup(s)ʔ
la kek-
las laca that(s)-
lep phok-
liū, liūci phik-; thəŋ-, yuk-
liuciu hūmu (? hu(ŋ)-)
lium bhoat-
mar rim-

pegle al-
poa thep-
pan thoak-
pe kok- 2.
phali ter-
phē hep-
phleo khluka-, luk-
pho greom-
phoseo ris-, ems-
phu dem-
phun jeks-
phuri hut-
pi klək-, kleots-; khlok-
piri nap-
ploa ches-, loas-
placami deo(ə)-
poteo wam-
peoceo hep-
prean theak-
pul, puli car-
reo pheak- 1.
reon thiut-
reop jet-, cium-
saka wak-
seak ri-, phot-
soko, soka hep- 2, phep-
seol bleak- 2, hat-, bro(ə)si-
seole e-
siup phat-

thi rek-
ton gen-
teopaa taple mimleak-
wā khoak-, koa(t)-
yō khur-, siut-

ADDENDUM

After the above had been submitted for publication, I became aware of having neglected the paper by Stuart N. Wolfenden entitled "A specimen of the Thulung dialect" (J. Roy. As. Soc. 1935 pp. 629-653). Wolfenden had worked in the Darjeeling district with a single Thulung informant who left before the study was complete. The paper consists of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Thulung with interlinear English, followed by grammatical comments based on the text, on additional enquiries and on the writer's comparative knowledge of Tibeto-Burman languages. Much of his discussion is vitiated by the incompleteness of the data and by certain misapprehensions, but the attentive reader of my own account will be able to make due allowance for this, and will find a certain amount of additional information, especially lexical. Wolfenden's orthography is impressively consistent and its relationship to my own will be clear. The following comments are limited to those points in the paper that appear particularly likely to mislead or particularly worthy of note. The narrative style seems to me in general unnatural, which is not surprising in view of the task the informant was performing.

Mistranslations and misinterpretations.

629. hamko: "how much" not "that which"; 632 "how many" not "thus"

khole: "all" not "that"

630. dastius ? from doak- "like"

khabDiu: "began, was on the point of, was about to" not "wished"

capsiuwa: "was able" not "ate"

loāsi: "is obtainable" not "(I) shall find"

631. bepa: ? from b(e)-. Treatment of this word is several times misleading

bo: "even" not "to be"

lawto: "I have seen found" not "is found". 633 loasti "we have found"

632. rokta: "come" not "return" (so unlikely to be cognate with Tib log-pa)

hila: "questioning" (noun), not an interrogative form

bisawa: "consented" not "wished"

nem bathaṅ: "days+since" not "long"

641. diums (according to AS 31a, 33) "zero" not "group of ten"

652. phesara: final syllable is not the locative particle; the form is an imperative of the compound verb phesat-.

Thulung forms doubtful or erroneous.

629. "bā-ṇē": ? read goaṅ "give" (imper) + hai N

630. "sya-wū": read seow "I shall say"

ema u ceo: ? read ema i ceo (as in ema i loa (632))

631. "rāp-Dyū": read rebDiu "saw" (cf rebDa 632)

"bā-yē-Dā": same word as "bā-ī-Dā" (629)

bamDa:s? read bamDi; in any case not a straightforward past tense as W. supposed (652)

632. ceopaṇa: I am puzzled by the second syllable of this word and by the grammar of the sentence

633. "rāk-mū" and "rā-mū" are the same word (roak-)

643. "dyu-m-ē": I cannot explain the final vowel

653. "pyē-mū": I doubt if this really occurs, pomu being normal

lemdimu: ? read lamdimu "walk"

Interesting points.

Postfixes.

As noted in III 9.21, AS has two entries involving ka which conflict fundamentally with my own findings and with the analysis I have given of them. However W. also writes (639)s "The accusative appears

to share the suffix ka with the nominative and instrumental.⁸ The statement evidently does not apply to the non-human direct objects that appear in his text, but there are two instances which he cites and which are difficult (if not impossible) to explain in other terms. In both of them the accusative is a pronoun, as in the one relevant entry in AS. Perhaps it is significant that both W and AS were reporting from the Darjeeling areas and on dialects that apparently do not distinguish a from oa.

The forms goka and ganaka in W's text supplement the remarks in III 9.22.

a papkamDa (630) "to or at my father's house" appears older than the Mukli equivalent sa papkara. The expression cannot be construed as a dative (640) and the example cited is probably due to a misunderstanding with the informant.

629. bayra. After nici "both" one might expect the dual bacci. Possibly the singular is conventional or acceptable in the first sentence of a narrative when the characters are being introduced.

630. deostiu. Mukli speakers use the V stem form deoiuriu. W's informant seems particularly to favour 3 S past forms in -stiu (as liusta for liūra, lemstiu for lemDiu). Cf V 2.2.

630. "wak-tā". Cf Mukli huk- "run out" and V 1.34.

CORRIGENDA

14b	for Ratho ma	read RaThoṃma
21m:	for of and a/oa	read of ə and a/oa
23t:	for “recognise 2	read “recognise” 2
43b:	for gəs-	read gəks-
49t:	for data is	read data are
54 line 1:	for give	read given
77b:	for “despise”,	read “despise,
92b 4 lines up:	for treatest	read greatest
103m:	for 2.23. Order of worda	read 2.23. Order of words.
141 line 4:	for Bagdiles	read Bangdiles
143 5 lines up:	for excited	read exited
153b:	for descendents+	read descendants [two mistakes!]
187 line 4:	for loakiksi	read loamiksi
195m:	for bomtha	read bomthe
200 s.v. ciulbi:	for neddle	read needle
213b:	for khi	read khiṃ
214m:	for khole: broth	read khole: broth (N!) [i.e. delete a Nepali word]
215 m:	for khu	read khuṃ
220m s.v. lîsi:	for lima	read <u>lima</u>
222 s.v. mim:	for III 3.32	read III 3.23
226 s.v. ṇosi:	for pīDalu	read pīDālu
227t:	the centred letter p is missing at start of p- entries	
230 line 4:	for piece	read pice
238m:	for seor solid	read seor 1. solid
248m s.v. mamayom:	for Totelo	read ToTelo

SUPPLEMENTARY GLOSSARY

As was noted in its introduction, the glossary published in 1975 by no means attempted to list all the words I had recorded, and this reissue has prompted me to return to my old handwritten notebooks from 1969-71 and extract from them as much vocabulary as seemed to me sufficiently reliable. Since I have no plans to make the material available in other forms, I have included more ethnographic information than in the original glossary. I have become ever more aware of the defects in my material, but hope these fragments of information from the past may still be of use. I have anglicised a few common Nepali words. ADD means 'add to the lemma in the old glossary'. DN stands for depcinən.

ənka, ənka: sleeping somewhere else; anep ə. læsta seo: he is away for the night.

ā: OK.

akothi: so much; akom: so big; akomto so many; anu hither; asinDa: here.

ampa: binding of lichiuri for handle of broom (kuco N) or for wooden sheath of kukri (ampa may be cut when kukri is buried with corpse).

ane, anep: today.

arawa (Lokhim): huTpa.

bələpu ADD. ceba b. (Lokhim, AS): potato.

bəT ADD at end. bəTme, bəTme: female guest. bocceolun, boapmelun: uphill pair among the three hearth stones on which cooking vessels are placed, the former closer to the front door (cf. kholomelun).

bəy-: become smelly (of beer, stew).

bəysan: rods running across warps to hold them in position.

bamamisi, bamisi: interjection in high-flown speech.

banpa: organiser or master of ceremonies at marriage.

barariya, -rip: unidentified component of loom (suDDori N).

belam: clear fluid (when making Diu).

belsi-: pair up (as of two friends).

besi in besi bomu: imitate.

bhum ADD. wild buffalo horn (blown at bhume rite).

bhumi: yak's tail, used in rituals by dewas, Brahmans and Chetris (not by dhamis).

bhunliuyiu, -wa: types of worm, (1) two cm long, found in fruit; (2) longer, lives in faeces.

bi- (2) ADD before bisi-. bibire, bebere: style of wedding practised when formal request has been made to bride's parents (as opp. ləksiuriu).

bibde: power of enchanting or bewitching.

bil-: tuck in strand (in basketry).

biurium ADD. b. phroat-: perform naming ceremony for child.

blənblənti, blən blən: stamping, noisy (when walking), vigorously (of threshing).

bloakbloakti: vigorously (of bubbling).

blanma: ritual outfit of nokcho.

bleaksok, bleapsok: loose.

bleo in bleo deosta: dawn broke.

boakceo: bird (ningre carā N).

boāmer: Magar, Gharti.

boapceowa: bird (musTe carā).

bokhopti AS: part of ritual left over till following day.

boleomdel: home of the dead (located in the village of Kotunje, west of the Maulung Khola, on route from Okhaldhunga to Ramechap): boleomseo: payment of pork (incl. pig's tail) made to dewa for conducting funeral. boleom: brush used in Lokhim for brushing surface of grave.

bomtha: on fifty-fifty basis, involving equal shares.

bop ADD. bopsesi DN buyemsi: fruit etc used in ritual.

brə bomu: fight by scratching, pulling hair.

brəkəmaksī: thick and fast (of things falling, as hail, bullets, lice from hair).

brelem brelem, brələn brələn: swinging pendulously.

brənəmaksī: in a crowd or swarm (bees).

bram bram: higgledy piggledy, any old how (of bunches of harvested rice, which should be arranged in neat rows).

broānum: another name for Raṅkime.

broa(ṅ)si- ADD. brandom: hind leg of pork eaten by family and officiant after dispersal of wedding guests.

breyem breyem: in threads and tatters (clothing).

breos-: break off (of fruit or leaves from tree, cucumber from parent plant).

bū in b. carmu (Lokhim ritual): exorcize spirit resulting from bad death (perform within one month of death, and u khrem within four months).

bujem: companion ceremony to miksinən, i.e. mapa.

bukumalium: simple earthen grave (as for child, or when full mortuary rites are delayed).

buliumaksi: spinning violently (leaves in whirlwind).

bumdil bumdil: swollen.

bun ADD. b. theom-: breast feed; udhauḷi (for ū. N) bun (æ do selsimu): cycle-opening tosi held in Asoj; ubhauḷi (for ū. N) bun: tosi held in Vaisakh. bunmaser, buma-: grain, e.g. kodo, drying on saraṅ. bunma dōma (Lokhim): small meal of rice given to guests at ranci.

burkha: back end of interior of house, i.e. away from front door, where women often sit; provides storage space for supplies and utensils.

bursi (2) (Tingla): the shelter, built like luṅkhim, where ritual supplies are kept at start of sekro; b. hol-: like chem ur- at Mukli.

buthepma: rash on cheek.

buwalem: variety of spirit that inhabits forest (= leledium), often summoned by dhamis (cf let- (1)).

buwam: spirit that takes form of monkey; (arch) bear.

cəṅma: earth (in cosmogony).

cərisaṅ: four posts at corners of loom.

caca (nursery word): cooked rice.

cacuwa, cacawa, cakca: beer and rice thrown downhill from house to spirit of deceased.

cakcarwa: a tosi held in Cait.

cakep cakep: sticky.

coakseor: scorched cokro N of beer.

carwa (<-boa): pig formerly killed with thoalium on day of death to feed siuliumceo waliumceo.

ce in u ce: ritual meat (of pig). At a wedding, seven types of meat are threaded on a sliver of bamboo, offered to the deceased at carseo camu ritual, and eaten by kholomes – kidney, spleen, lungs, liver, heart, seopseo, digo; at a funeral one type is omitted.

ceakphar, cək-: variety of fish (two inches long).

cem . ?cf chyâma N aunt (from kānchi āmā).

cempra: variety of bird.

cepha lupha: the greetings between relatives which, on evening of wedding day, remain to be completed the following morning; they are represented by (two) vessels of raksi from either side, to be drunk when the greetings are completed.

cetla, cekla: bird (who was, in myth, the first dhami).

cewo: husband of daughter, sister or father's sister (DH, ZH, FZH).

chamchamya: well spread out.

chapa(rem): term of address to younger female; wa chapa (arch): elder sister (eZ).

chapkuwa: Kulung.

choāra ADD. ch. cəksi belā N: late afternoon.

cheakcheakma bird (variety of phisTa N).

cher: filter.

cherwa: exchange of women between two pacha (koroli sāto N); marriage with younger sister's husband's sister (yZHZ; it may result in blindness in the family).

chili ADD. u chili: core, hard part of trunk, stalk or leaf.

chiriburwa: cricket.

chirime (Lokhim): variety of bird imitated in sili, ?= tan̄time.

cho(t)- ADD. combine with other spirits (in causing disease).

cheocceo: small offering of food sprinkled or flicked in direction of fire before starting to eat; cheopceo, chepce: offering of meat to ancestors.

cheoreop meoreop: widely (of forest fire spreading).

cheorseo: three ribs of pork and six lumps of meat offered to deceased and later eaten by nokcho.

chiulukpoa: red-throated, long-beaked bird (cuce carā N).

chium- ADD. chiumsəkpa: densely packed (of group of stars).

chiuniukepciu: monkey (in myth).

chiupliu: small earthenware vessel for feeding infants.

chiur- ADD. chiuriup chiuriup: in a hurry.

cilemsən, ce-: bier (of bamboo); wood used in funeral pyre.

cinta (<cintā N thought, purpose, imagination, speculation): séance held by medium;

Thulo N c.: more elaborate séance esp. held by seleme to dispose of spirit of one who has died a bad death.

ciri: divination. c. bomu, c. remmu: divine by cutting slices of narma and seeing whether a slice falls with the face up or down (the face having been marked by dipping in ash before slicing); cf. ciT.

cīriya: remaining drops, small amount of fluid left over.

cirkhu AS: (saur N) politeness?

ciT: ashy side down (when performing ciri), as opp. poT.
cokcoluŋ: circular stone level with floor of ciuciu for threshing corn on; those found in houses ‘derive’ from an original, for threshing kodo, located at tosikhom.
ceoke: fried meat given to those who help out at ceremony.
curumaksi profusely (of tears); ?ciuriumaksi: dripping (of sweat, of hanging wet cloth).
ciuciu: downhill half of interior of house (as opp. mosium).

Doa ADD. Dakəmsəŋ, d-: the four posts round weaver at one end of loom.
Doak-: suffice, be plenty; Dan̄karara: to satiety.
Dar- ADD. catch (fugitive), retrieve (something lost); Darpa: fever.
Darma, doarma: wooden shaft round which completed cloth is wound when weaving.
Dēt-: transfer fermenting mass from tophrim to ghaĩTi N when making beer.
Dolo: variety of bird (kuthurkā N).

dəkkar, dəkər: drying shelf suspended above chakkar.
dabel: six or eight concentric rectangular markings on top of grave (outermost of bamboo, inner ones drawn with finger in earth).
dakapa: small bird (bhadrāyo N).
dalam: hip, hip bone, buttocks.
doāniceo: male from groom’s side.
daŋkum: treadle of loom.
dāpe, dāphe: shelf or niche (in wall above mosium, close to hearth; associated with ancestors).
daramaksi: in a torrent (of rain, beer from vessel).
debu: AS Nechali villager; dew: Bahing.
dedam: second largest ritual among dewa’s ancestor rites (larger than cheodam).
demli: adultery (which will cause supernatural harm to one’s family).
dems- ADD. dempa: full.
depcinəŋ: ritual name (of object, place, clan, title, individual...).
dewa, d. nokcho: Thulung tribal priest.
dha-: dig (pit), dig up (potatoes).
dhaliu ADD. dhaguy lower.
dhēma: later-ripening varieties of kodo or maize (maŋsire N; cf. manda).
digo: meat from front of pig’s belly, used in chorseo.
dili dili: of smoke rising.
doceo: tribe (thar N).
dociu: frontal headache; d. thats-: cure it by pulling out hair above forehead or biting patient in middle of forehead.
dodi: area of Namche Bazar (whence salt used to be brought).
dorium in d. bomu: spread out grain to dry in sun.
deole(həp), AS Deoli: invisible (deformed?) spirit inhabiting desolate places, liable to steal harvest.
deor: deer; deorlim: large white fungus growing on trees.
dukci in dukci bomu: experience pregnancy cravings.
dukhur: passage uphill of a house.
duni: funeral; duniceo: mourners.

eak- ADD. AS emu, āmu: pick (maize cobs); eaks-: break up (of marriage).

gam: ‘companion’ ceremony – the second in a pair (a nagi should be followed the next year by u gam, its complement); prob. = khrem.

goal ADD. goalku: rakshi; goala: ritual offering, esp. to ancestors (pitri N).

goanlon goanlon: loose (of clothing).

gamba (Tingla): variety of mousetrap (= takhokpa Mukli).

gamsi-: settle down satisfactorily (e.g. in Malaya or with a wife).

gegu: bird which eats maize in Asar (kokole N); Newar (from sound of their language).

gheanguṇ: small centipede which winds itself into a ball (ārimote N).

ghreos-: brew successfully (beer).

ghurge: white-throated bird (kalkale N).

gigim ADD. blue (can apply to sky).

glicimaksi: in great numbers (of lice or other insects).

grangranya: flat on the ground (of man falling on back, of felled tree).

gujiu in g. jam, g. seo (Lokhim): rice (four mānas) and meat (from back) received by dewa at funeral.

gurkhu: hat worn by those who tie up pig in sekro ritual.

gutumaksi, guru-: in a crowd (animals, people).

guyoguyom: flexible (as of wood).

həp ADD. nem həp: householder, IV 1.2.

habu habu: almost (of water boiling, of scarcely audible distant conversation).

hadi: (1) cattle (ritual/archaic); (2) hadi AS, hati (Tingla): earthquake.

hajel bujel: immoderately, indiscriminately (of eater, generous person, chatterbox).

ham ADD. hamsiuma III 8.2.

hanhanti, hanhanya: gaping wide.

hari, aug buri in h. bomu: threaten (evil spirits) by waving weapons and shouting.

harti: three ribs of pork given to groom’s banpas on wedding day.

hela in h. bomu: shout.

hemok hemok: weak from hunger.

her- ADD. herwa: basket used for pressing oil (because of its oblique weave).

herbalun (Tingla): stones at grave (the two long flat ones lining either side).

hiw ADD. hiwnem: wand with end frilled out, used by dhami (phurke N); hiwrən that-: extract hiw from head of patient.

holsi: trunk of banana tree.

hora (Tingla): quarrel.

hulaseo: meat presented to married-out females who attend their natal villages for a funeral bringing cloth for tharsan and topi for chief mourner.

hur- ADD. hur: a minor Mukli puja.

hūseo (? = hoptan): chicken, or front half of pig, suspended above sele at Thulo cinta (offered to spirits but eaten by anyone).

hut- ADD. huTpa: a Bhote spirit who receives twice yearly household worship. Acc. to some, = Gelbu (<Tib. rgyalpo ‘king’).

hutepoakpoak: bird whose cry is heard in Cait.

ī in ī bomu: grin so as to show teeth.

ibema: bird heard in Asar (song consists of three descending notes of equal length).

jaki: dewa's spear.

jalsāwa: bird looking like mouse.

jaw: great hornbill (hongrāyo N).

jepserpo: mottled or speckled (with red and black).

jhirkuli: small bird (name onomatopoeic).

ji: a class of spirits, who should be worshipped by householder once a year in a ritual similar to Rangime's (they are not represented in concrete form); ji khommu: name for or purpose of tosi held in Magh.

jigiyom AS, jigiyo, jigiuyun, jigenma: small bird like wren (important in cosmogony).

jirma: beer made from kodo alone.

jeobli: Chamling Rai.

jeol ADD. jeolsiTpa, -sipa rich.

jium: small pieces of meat from wild boar, buffalo, fish, pheasant, chiliukpoa and other species, used in rituals e.g. to səəse.

kacerpo, AS kecerpo: hoopoe (phāpre carā N).

-ka ADD. -kara: at the home of (French chez).

kaka (nursery word): meat.

kekuwa DN heleku: variety of bird, ♂ falcon (AS beśārā, = besarā N?).

khoa: birdlime, but esp. used by dhami for magic, and not shown to laymen. Some distinguish varieties (purbe kh. like water, ruwa kh. like cotton wool, and dewa kh.). Aug of chiT.

khadiu in khadiu guy: deep into the earth (of root).

khoadium: desire; i kh. niura?: Is it as you wanted it?

khoakmaciu, khakwaciu: bush with edible fruit growing to south.

khakhor ADD (cf khoak- and khor): in kh. bomu: (of priest) ward off (illnesses etc).

khal: Khaling Rai.

khamti, -tim: area which performs a bhume rite collectively; administrative circumscription.

khantium: wooden vessel (āri N) with handle, used for beer in rituals.

khapci buliu AS: alloy of bell metal and brass.

khelaphuciu: small variety of snake.

kheraksi: = koktali. (Miniature kh. are hung in shrine to Bureni – cf. Rangime).

khidi: organiser at wedding, esp. in phrase cār khidi (i.e. two from each side).

-khim in lun~~khim~~, Lokhim (village name): means 'house' in some other Rai languages cf.

nebdi khibdi: DN for house.

khlimceo (Lokhim): adopted member of clan.

khliw, AS khlew: hornbill (dhanesh N).

khokhoma: two-inch long roundish insect (mentis N).

kholo: inauspicious, bad luck, ill-omened (e.g. digging grave or cutting things when wife is pregnant; working from inside outwards when smearing floor with cowdung mix –

except at death; whistling indoors; pronouncing the word homsī during Mangsir; laying out sleeping mat so that the end woven first is at the feet of sleeper...).

kholom: alcohol and meat consecrated at a ritual and not for general consumption;

kholome: elder (male or female); kholomeluŋ: downhill one among the three hearthstones, cf s.v. bəT.

kholtoŋ: wheaten cake (phuraulā N).

khomda: the planet Jupiter (in myth).

khorba ADD. khorwaceo: small wooden bowl (of meat for bangpas).

khosium, khomsəŋ, AS khosum (= pirā N): seat. khōsəŋma: board raised a few inches and used as seat at dewa's ritual.

khoska AS: villager from Dewsa.

khosku, khəsku: gluey fluid made from leaves of briumsi and used at cinta.

khraŋ khraŋ (Lokhim): wand of briumsi (etc?) inserted under roof during cinta.

khraŋda: elder who assists dhami at ritual.

khrap- ADD. khropsiuliu: lament for deceased chanted at funeral.

khrep- ADD. khremluŋ: flat covering stone on top of grave.

khro in Diukhro: device consisting of two pieces of wood projecting from back and uphill inner walls of house to support vessel (ghyāmpā N) of beer.

khudiuwa: iguana.

khukpa ŋeakpa: seniors, elders.

khul: foot of tree, start of story; khulāu: place of origin (in myths – sometimes, as by AS, associated with Benares). AS khuliu: spouse's father (sasurā N).

khuliumca: pointed digging stick (tiskulā N), used e.g. to get karelā N, if hoe is not handy.

khumsi- ADD. khusimo AS: headscarf; khumceol, -cium: hood, as at head of shroud.

khuwa: all-rounder ritualist.

kə ADD. koniu (AS akoniū): that's enough (when offered more food or drink).

kok- ADD. koksiuriu phirpa AS: Sarki (traditionally the leather-worker caste).

koke (biyā~): grain of rice or kodo that remains unhusked (?).

kokobiw: eagle.

kokoluŋ: small stone set in floor just downhill of domestic hearth.

koktali (cf. kək-): hooked stick to pull down branches or hang things on.

kollo (Lokhim): black bird (nyauli N).

kom: complementary member of a pair (of vessels of alcohol at ritual).

kope kope: fluently, without stumbling (speaker).

krəsəŋ, krəpusəŋ, kraTpusəŋ: small bridge.

krekre: small variety of frog (makes sound Teg Teg).

krololo: rolling round and round (of eggs).

kuliu AS: Kulung.

kurcaŋ bep (Lokhim): great-great-grandfather.

kurku (arch) : river, stream.

kurmisem: eyebrow.

kuyuma: darkness.

ləksiuriu: ritual observed by bangpa when bride has eloped.

lajuŋ: wooden vessel for storing salt (two foot high, one foot diam., kept in mosium).

lalaper (Lokhim): fowl whose blood is dripped at site of grave and which is then thrown away uneaten.

lam ADD. lam holpa: marriage negotiator; lamcaka, front door (contrasting with jaskelo N: side door).

lanlun: wobbly (of drunk), changeable (as modern customs).

lanma, lə-: second and smaller tosi ritual, held in Asar (requires wakphum); cf sakhle, silim.

lapamer: chicken's wings, placed in armpits of corpse with fragments of meat.

lapsiu: in I. themsimu: become smelly, as of beer.

layemokchium: well-made basket, used by dhami for his paribun (Lokhim) or (formerly) for sending dowry, some years after a wedding.

le pikpuri, lepi puri AS (<lekh N): a black bird; the pikpuri or pipuri is a smaller variety, the sel cəkpu a larger one.

leledium AS: cannibalistic evil spirit haunting jungle.

lenja AS: Limbu.

lepleya: pork (back or haunch) used in chorseo rite.

let- (1) ADD. u buwaleŋka lēpa: (of a dhami) possessed by his spirita

lichiuri, licheri: thin strip of bamboo, as for tying thatch to roof.

lok- ADD. phesi lokpa: a confident, knowledgeable and entertaining speaker.

lōle AS: Khaling Rai.

leom: evil spirit (prob. female), who causes illnesses.

leomci (Tilo N): piece of iron given to dead spirit or (for various rituals) to brahman; weapons placed in grave.

luna: Neche village.

lutukur: pāshanbed N (root may be used as remedy after fall).

liu(t)-: yum l. strengthen (a person), using magic.

liumla ADD. liumlaka khrēpa: disobedient, one failing to follow advice.

məysa ADD. məysamsəŋ: firewood needed for miksinəŋ and collected a year in advance during the planning (not to be used for ordinary purposes).

mā (particle): see III 7.21.

mā: grain ADD. māsum: bhume rite held in Magh.

maccem, məcche, mache: short skirt (phariyā N) worn by women at sekro.

maciu, aug ŋepsiu: mother's sister's children.

māciurium: fodder for cattle, sometimes smoked (gāi tihāre N).

mamaciuni: Creator Deity.

mamame?: spirit of woman dying in childbirth.

manda: variety of kodo that ripens early (asauje N; cf. dhēma).

manje (< majeuro N): woman's head-scarf.

melma: gift of cooked rice given at miksinəŋ to relatives invited from afar.

mēsəŋ (<meh N): post round which oxen are driven to tread out corn.

məy: emphatic particle at end of sentence.

miksinəŋ: (corresponding to Tingla's sekro) largest and most expensive of the ancestor rituals; originally needed 32 ghyāmpās of husked rice (now 16), and sacrifice of three-year-old victims (buffalo, pig and cock). Involves informing the deceased, digging up

corpse(s), wrapping up skulls and putting them in a wooden box, giving them a drink of nemsiu oil from bamboo vessel (cungi N), and reburying them in a small cave.

mim ADD. (3) agency causing KoThi N = moles, Mongolian black spot (u mimka yallium: he has such a spot).

mini: Mini, the mythical first man (AS = mānis N).

miurium (in myths): body.

moasime: old woman who assists dewa (counterpart of nopceo).

mopo, mapa: small rite performed by dewa, but larger than huTpa.

mora mora, moraktam: stiff (hair), rough (ground), tough (vegetables).

mule (Tingla): four.

muma in m. bomu: slander, abuse.

munan: (1) evil spirit; (2) in m. bep: great-grandfather.

muthamun: lotus.

nəme: husband's younger sister (HyZ).

nəmula in sathiya n. (<sāthi N): the buffalo bull that accompanies spirit of a rich man on post-mortem journey.

nəəniu: cry used to call calves.

nərimakte (Tingla): cotton upper garment, ornamented with omri, worn by dewas in rites from mopo upwards and in sekro by all who possess them (at least by the four nopceo).

noa: sibling coming immediately after ego in birth order; nabun: born within a few days of each other; noāpa as in nəəlem sūlemka n.: born only a couple of days apart.

nagi, nage: non-calendrical rite performed by dewa (whence the text of VI 3.4); the largest ancestor rite in Lokhim, lasts three days; should be followed up (plet-) next year with a mopo.

nakcipe: wooden ladle with angled handle and scoop scarcely larger than an eggcup.

namdi burwa, namdiurium: species of cricket, larger than chiri b. (sometimes roasted and eaten).

nathepma, -kna: hairy biting caterpillar (lābhre kirā N).

newo, AS nebo: day before yesterday, a few days ago.

ninamto: Ribdung village.

neomli: variety of bird (archaic for cəncagrəə).

neoneopo: variety of bird (AS bhyākura).

neothel: minor ancestor rite, sometimes equated with huTpa; needs one ghyāmpā of beer (Tingla); formerly held twice yearly in each house in Mukli.

niu- ADD. niuplam (as opp. jēlam) a good death; niup bep true grandfather (as opp. classificatory); niupsiulium (Lokhim) = serepmalium.

nademalun: stones used in building a grave.

nalṇalti: disconcerted.

nar: in banpa ṇ.: the two rupees given by groom's father via bangpas to bride 'to raise her head' (? at banpa Doremu).

narma ADD. Varieties are ṇatawa (-bu), lucimi (-e), mimili, ṇaraceo (roughly from large to small).

ṇe ADD. ṇemakte: shirt made from mother's old clothes, put on infant at nwāran N ritual.

neakcium: heddles of loom.

nem: spirit medium (dhāmi N).

neta (Tingla pumcimo): cooked rice sprinkled on corpse and at site of grave.

ñima ADD. ñimari, ñemari: necklace, or ornament attached to breast (made from split cane and said to give good dreams); ñimabom DN simabom: gourd with smaller bulb and longer spout than usual used in huTpa and similar rites.

ñol- ADD. ñolmaser: mixture (rice and maize cooked together; different castes eating together).

ñophiuciu: variety of small earwig.

pəymakha: neighbourhood, area from which people collect e.g. to help at a funeral.

pacha: patrilineal clan (a new one may be created after seven generations).

pakha ADD. p. lun (or khirilun): the four stones surrounding the fireplace.

pañar pañar: stiff, unbendable (as of split cane); pañarara: lying stiff on back (sleeper).

poāpa (nursery word): roti.

pari: in parila: destination to which dhami conducts soul of deceased; in par hep/m:- conduct soul thither; parinem: home of deceased in afterworld; paribun, parbun: dhami's headdress of peacock feathers; parelium (Tingla) elaborate variety of tomb built for dewa.

pasilap: slow, ignorant, incompetent.

pasiu: group (sarahā N) consisting of those who join in contributing to a wedding or funeral (≠ phuliu).

paTaksi: fruit of mæde (bhorlo N)a- edible but sour.

patela? (arch): courtyard.

pateomri: expert or expertise in tribal lore.

pepe: great-great-grandchild.

phandalala: spreadeagled, lying carelessly.

pharamaksi: vigorously (of shaking, boiling, popping maize).

philimaksi: quickly.

phir- ADD. phirpa: Damai caste.

phlemkhel: sole; phlemla: palm, flat of hand.

phlepsa: variety of bird (like cat, eats mice); term of abuse.

phlūsi: meat offered to spirit, then eaten by participants in a ritual.

phremajam: rice offered to participants in funeral.

phuliu: cooperative group for work in fields (parmā, sarāu N); phuliceo: member of such group.

pī: sore on eyeball (dhami may cure).

pichilin, chipilin, pliplikma: wren.

pilap pilap: seen intermittently (of firefly, of person walking behind row of trees).

pinma: bell of jhā~kri N.

plə(t)- ADD. Cf V 2.13.

plike plike in p. remmu: look hungrily (at food); plikok plikok: with a wink.

ploka: earthenware bowl.

pojiu: small bird which forms flocks (koTero N); pojiuchium: (bagale tārā AS) bunch of five or seven stars near the Three Stars (Orion's Belt?).

polon polon: swinging freely (of suspended object).

poT: ashy side up (cf ciT).
præciu: Kiranti (ethnonym).
preŋkelele: flat on the back? (of sleeper, of falling).
puliumaksi: rolling over (when falling).
pumciumu (cf ŋeta): fowl whose blood is sprinkled at head of grave at funeral.
pupu (nursey word): lice.

ræmi: bird whose flight is imitated in a sili (dhobi carā N).
rəŋma: episode at sekro ritual.
rā: III 7.44.
rali, hiwrali: reddish centipede.
ranci: ceremonial exchange of visits between families at the Dasain following a wedding.
raŋkime, raŋkeni: ban ko deb N, a spirit or deity of jungle who receives a small twice-yearly sacrifice from each household. In Tingla his wife Bureni shares the temporary shrine of R., occupying its left half (as seen by observer).
rap ADD. rapa: barrier, fence round tomb; eight-inch length of frilled out cane used in making dhami's thān N.
rayembu: sieve (wood or metal).
re in rephurkā (ph. N): ornament worn on breast made of omri fibres and woollen tassels.
rēji: ADDα= reji N: small change).
rembu: open-mesh basket (3 foot square) for drying esp. unthreshed kodo; may be placed on chəkkər.
remji (Tingla): grass and weeds.
rep- (1) ADD. remmu bomu: make visit to inspect (potential bride).
riphuluŋ (Lokhim): the four stones bounding fireplace.
riu ADD. riumiksi bomu: have fleeting vision of unrecognizable phantom (implying an imminent death in neighbourhood).
riuntəŋma (rare): last-born (male or female); riunpanma: last overlooked ears (of kodo).
roko roko: in r. r. roak-: recall pe of someone dazed by a fall, by making sucking noise with lips and tapping on stone with metal, esp. sickle (cf. rok- come).
reom ADD. reobDam: impurity, menstrual blood. u reobDam parmu (Lokhim): perform whole funeral rite in one day.
reosceo: stepson.
ruwasila, rolasila: the planet Venus (in myth).

səəpunem: type of dhami who, in old days, acquired his knowledge without a human teacher.

səəse: (1) ancestral spirits, represented in Mukli by beer and grain, replaced every couple of years, kept in siunkhra; in Mukli the latter (in one case, four of them, associated with close forebears of householder) are usually kept in upper story of barn, though some households have abandoned the custom; they should not be viewed by outsiders. In Tingla the səəse are represented by stones (only one per house; receives sacrifice of cock once yearly). (2) ancestor stones other than yunkuli situated at a bhume shrine.

soā (<sot N bride-price): the four vessels sent at marriage from groom's to bride's house.

sagram: very old (tree, animal, man).

sajep: contributions made at a wedding, or list of these.

sakham: capable and efficient.

sakhle: the major tosi ritual, held in Asar, at a shrine in Mukli marked by a large sacred cotton tree (ghruksi), around which is a small stone-walled enclosure.

salame: maiden.

soalceo: namesake, good friend.

samantokce, fem. -ci: stunted or unusually small person.

samphle (cf plem): large flat stone on which one can sit (landmark in Dewsa village).

samti, -thi: esteem, honour (as shown to guest).

sankhim: shroud.

sansanya: clear (of water).

sanwa, -ma: type of bird, 'king of birds' in Lokhim, (bhīgumā N).

saramaksi: fast and energetically (of worker, of fire burning).

sarsesi (rare): Sunwar.

sase (Tingla): funeral rites; sasephul: kodo flour sprinkled on head of corpse while it is laid out in ciuciu; saset- sprinkle site of grave with blood of fowl.

sawyo: weed among rice (sāmā N – itself a cereal formerly used for making beer).

say: spirit, phantom (similar to pel); life force, psychic equilibrium? (sāto N); hamko re u

say yersta: how badly he lost his temper!

seka seka in s.s. bomu: babble, be chatterbox.

sekro: see miksinən. About one per year takes place in Tingla; should be followed up (plet-) next year by a nagi. The scale of ancestor rites, pitri N, (based on their duration, elaboration and expense) is sekro, dedam, nagi, mopo, huTpa.

sel ADD. selkokpa: blacksmith, Kami.

sela in s. bomu, s. goāmu: give notice, esp. beat drum and cymbals on prominent ridge in Mukli to announce in the morning that a bhume rite will be held in the afternoon.

sele, seleme: traditional type of dhami able to perform a Thulo cinta.

semsən: supply of firewood for rainy season.

serbunsən: lengths of split bamboo used at tomb (six of them, planted vertically, hold up the yachari, and another forms the midline longitudinal strut suspended over grave).

serepmalium: variety of tomb with high roof and walls, erected at a five-day funeral (for adults).

sēs- ADD. sekhli bom: gourd from the biri N creeper (named from unpleasant smell of the squashy fruit).

sewari: fringe hanging over dewa's forehead from his headwear.

si- ADD. sikuri, su-: evil spirit of dead neonate; sikla: spirit of moribund person;

sikumri: funeral.

-si: in names for trees, see IV 1.32.

si(n)- ADD. silā seosimu: receive teaching, cf. III 7.22.

sibe (? = seomdi Lokhim): myth or invocation in Thulung in the course of a ritual performed by dewa or seleme.

sili: style of dancing that imitates an animal, bird or fish, or a human activity, employed in various rituals.

silim: shoot of maize given from each house at lanma tosi.

sindi in s. puja N: occasional rite performed at Tingla.

sipka ku, sikka (arch): beer.

sipprinma: fisherman's basket.

sipsip: cicadaa
sitimaksi: crowded together higgledy piggledy.
sobo AS: Sampang Rai.
sokop sokop: rough (of cloth), difficult (steep path covered with fallen leaves).
som (sup N): feathery-leaved vegetable (with edible leaves and seeds).
somori: illness; somo that(s)-: extract illness caused by witchcraft.
sōrium (<sora N = sixteen): grain needed on altar at ancestor rites (orig. 16 pathi of kodo).
sote (sote N = bamboo hookah): bamboo tube for blowing fire.
sotok sotok: shuffling awkwardly (tired person, infant).
seol ADD. seolewap bom: variety of gourd having long straight neck.
seomlun: flat stone forming wall of tomb.
seopseo: meat from inside lower back (jāli N?).
seorbom: large gourd on dhami's thān for making libations onto hūseo?
seotaceo: Sotange Rai.
subu: earth, world (in myths), AS prithvi N.
suktium ADD. s., sukthium: name attached to clan.
sūlim, sumium: two-foot long wooden ritual object(? symbolic sword) held by dancer at traditional rite (cf N sūli?).
sumum sumum: silently.
suphum, supak: prostrate with legs stretched out.
surcaṇ bep (Lokhim): father of kurcaṇ bep, i.e. five generations back.
suru buru: neutral, not bad (of outcome, when divining by slicing ṇarma).
siumburma: poisonous hairy insect, 2-3 inches long (jhusle kirā N).
siup: spirit in u siup carpa (moc māṛnu N), the first of the two Thulo cintas held after a bad death.
siuplun, AS suptiulun: hearth stone.
siusiu bomu: utter siu siu siu... when libating into fire.

tākemu, takewamu: small movable stone used to narrow gap between the three fixed hearth stones.
taktiker: variety of bird.
tamarik: tite N (herb whose buds make a bitter ke).
taṅkhrewa, taṅkuwa: the one or two assistants sitting immediately beside an officiating dewa.
taṅlo doak-: misbehave.
taṅtimi: type of bird whose flight is imitated in a sili.
teanteaṇ (Tingla): ritual meat consumable only by males.
tente: large ladybird.
teremaksi: tasting like the spice Timbur N.
tete: insistently.
thalap thalap: fiddling with another's property or person.
thar- ADD. tharsaṇ: funeral flagpole with tail of pig or buffalo attached; th. krok- set up such pole.
thēbop: beer contributed by classificatory brothers for a ceremony.
themlun, aug thersa: trap made with large flat stone propped on a stick.

theoreop theoreop: with a gulping sound.

theos- ADD. theotheowa: belonging to oral tradition.

theotheoya: morose.

thuksi: wooden vessel for fluids.

thulumakte: upper garment (in ancient times), prob. = Tingla's nərimakte.

thumba: stick on which birdlime is exposed.

tilili, tilimaksi: glittering, int. wak- of star shining.

tō: scrap of white cloth used in ritual, e.g. attached to tharsən of woman, or put in tomb.

tobo tobo: thick (of fluids).

tokol: bell (used at funerals).

tosi ADD. calendrical rite performed by dewa at communal shrine (or in house). How often varies with the village between twice and seven times per year. For Mukli see bun, ji, māsum, cakcarwa, yaw, sakhle, lanma. Between lanma and Asoj bun tosi women (esp. pregnant) and children should avoid crossing rivers; no rituals should be performed to ancestors; pigs and chickens should not be carried over long distances.

teolem: minor rite formerly performed before eating from new harvest; t. rək- hold this rite; teolenka neonDom Do: I suppose (this skin ailment) is due to (my not having performed) t.

teorlem teorlem: hanging in threads and tatters (clothes).

teoteoriya (Lokhim): erect.

tiupaceo: assistant at cinta or puja.

tiuri: orderly sequence.

ur- ADD. chem u.: fence off area downhill of groom's house a couple of weeks before wedding, so as to accumulate and store vessels for the meat and alcohol that will be needed; the pot (lip) for chorseo is jeTho N, for camseo mahilā N, for wanjam kānchā N. Opening of enclosure at start of wedding is ritualized; cf bursi.

wakphum: ritually pure (cokho N) boiled wheat offered on leaf plate at sakhle tosi, and eventually eaten by kholome.

walap walap: indistinctly, momentarily (of seeing things).

walicəkpū: small bright blue bird.

walimo: variety of spirit.

wamblium wamblium: dopey (from sleep, alcohol).

wanceo: brother of man's brother's wife or sister's husband (ms BWB, ZHB) or sister of a woman's brother's wife or sister's husband (ws BWZ, ZHZ) (solti N).

wanjam: food or drink that can be consumed by anyone (as opp. kholom).

wat-: prevaricate, digress, distract; wanamiuciu: hypocrite.

ya ADD. u ya nuṇma: sharp; u ya manthim: blunt.

yachari, yāciri: rope used in rituals (≠ riba), esp. hung up around tomb.

yaga: Sherpa.

yalapar, yelokpa: part of loom (cords suspending samajowa?).

yamla: frond of banana tree.

yanceo: brother's children.

yangi yangi: thin (worn cloth, flexible piece of wood).

yapa: in y. bomu: threaten or frighten spirits in ritual by shouting, clashing cymbals, waving weapons.

yar AS: with a jerk.

yaw ADD. = tosi ritual held in or around Vaisakh, after which agricultural work can and should begin; y. renmu: make journey back from cautārā N to house at final death ritual, stopping to dance at eight points.

yayu in u y. baTpa: following in the family tradition (as of one becoming a nokcho).

yecaphim: brush, esp. miniature one at tomb (suspended from serbunṣaṇ over head of deceased).

yōyo: great-grandchild.

yunkuli: clan god, in form of stone esp. at bhume site, to whom worship is directed.

Mukli's is at Sakhle tosi; Tingla has several. Unlike the associated səəseluṇ, they. may (and should?) be danced on.

yuripiṇma: bell worn by dhami (longer conical type).

APPENDIX 1.

cəksi: kābhro.

cəṅkal: arcal (tree with edible fruits and leaves).

camco: malayāgiri?

ciuksiu: gobhare sallā.

Daksabuṇ: gurā~s (rhododendron).

doci, Dociu: small thorny tree.

gəṅgaru: small thorny tree.

girbu: cimal (white rhododendron).

hompori: creeper from south with large inedible tubers.

jīsi, jisi: koirālo.

kuribuṇ: flower from south, having white inflorescence on single stalk.

mencelem: ? = seomreo.

phapciu: ajyauri (creeper).

phokamasəṇ: aule kharāne.

phoreoreo: kharuki (white-flowering grass larger than liusiu used by mongoose to build nest).

priupci: dubo (type of grass).

smibuṇ AS: buki phul.

seoseolam: kāmle jhār.

sunabuṇ: yellow flower growing in the north.

APPENDIX 2.

co ghriup-.